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CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

THE WEEK..... 417

EDITORIAL ARTICLES:

Secretary Root's Report 420
The "New Diplomacy" and War 421
Training for Citizenship 422
The Future of the Small College 422

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

The Villari Testimonial 423
Hugo's "Things Seen."—II. 425

CORRESPONDENCE:

A Prophecy Recalled 426
Why Called Ecumenical? 426
The -log Suffix in English Place-Names. 427
Goethe Translations 427
Beget in Elizabethan English 427

NOTES..... 428

BOOK REVIEWS:

Rhodes's United States 430
Recent Books on Music 432
Recent Completions of Poetry 433
The Expansion of Western Ideals and the
World's Peace.—The New Pacific 433
Scotland's Ruined Abbeys 434

BOOKS OF THE WEEK..... 435

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1899.

The Week.

The opening of the Fifty-sixth Congress is noteworthy for the fact that each branch is controlled by the party which carried the country in the last Presidential election. How extraordinary such a state of things is, appears only when one runs over the record of administrations, to find that, with the exception of a dozen years after 1860, when the representation of the South was either suspended or abnormal, there has been no case since Jackson's day when the Executive sent his message to a Congress, chosen midway in the term, which had both a Senate and a House with a majority of his party. In 1895 Cleveland met a House which was overwhelmingly in opposition; in 1891 Harrison had the same experience; in 1887, while the Democrats had, contrary to precedent, retained the lower branch in the middle of Cleveland's first term, the Republicans still controlled the Senate; in 1883 Arthur addressed a House which was Democratic by a great majority; in 1879 Hayes found Senate as well as House opposed to him; and in 1875 a "tidal-wave" for the Democrats had swept the House from the Republicans, for the first time since 1861. Before the civil war, as during the past quarter of a century, it had become the rule that a political reaction against the party which had carried a Presidential election, came two years later, and prevented the unquestioned control by that party of both branches of the Congress sitting during the last half of a term. Nothing could more forcibly illustrate the utter demoralization of the Democratic party through its surrender to Bryanism than the simple statement of these facts in our political history during the past sixty years.

Another noteworthy fact is, that, for the first time within the experience of this generation, a new Speaker having to be chosen (the old Speaker being ineligible), there has not been a contest for the nomination in the caucus of the dominant party, with "headquarters" for rival candidates and all the other accessories of a political contest. Reed, Crisp, Carlisle, Kelfer, Randall, Kerr, Blaine, Colfax, Grow—to run back no further than 1861—all had to make a fight for the place when they first secured it. The singular feature of Mr. Henderson's choice by his party is the fact that it was made so clearly several months before the meeting of the House that everybody accepted the situation. Sectional considerations helped the can-

vass of the Iowa member somewhat, as there was a general feeling in the West that the office ought now to go to that side of the Alleghanies, after having been held by Eastern and Southern members ever since 1869, except during Kelfer's incumbency and Kerr's still shorter period; but Mr. Henderson found warm support in the East last summer, as had Mr. Reed in the West when McKinley sought the place ten years ago. For the first time in the nation's history this high position, now universally considered the second office in power under our government, has gone to a State west of the Mississippi.

The important feature of the opening proceedings at the national capitol was the attitude of the House toward the Representative-elect from Utah. By a vast majority it assumed the position that, if anybody charges that a Representative-elect is ineligible, he shall not be admitted to a seat until the point thus raised shall have been examined by a committee, and the House shall have acted upon its report. It is a mistaken and a dangerous position. There is an attempt to strengthen it by reciting that the charge in the case of Roberts "is made through a member of the House, on his responsibility as such member, and on the basis, as he asserts, of public records, affidavits, and papers evidencing such ineligibility." But the fact remains that an attempt is made to keep a man out of a seat to which he has as strong a claim upon his credentials as any other Representative, on mere allegations.

The interesting question in the Senate whether Quay will get his seat upon the basis of the Governor's appointment, came to the front at once. The memorial against his admission, signed by many members of the Pennsylvania Legislature, is a strong document. Besides showing clearly Quay's weakness in the Legislature, where on the last ballot for Senator he received only 93 votes, against 85 for a second candidate, and 69 for a third, it cites the provision of the State Constitution, which Gov. Stone has disregarded, that "in case of a vacancy in the office of United States Senator of this commonwealth, in a recess between sessions, the Governor shall convene the two houses, by proclamation on notice not exceeding sixty days, to fill the same." It also puts forcibly the argument that, if the Senate recognizes the right of a Governor to make a temporary appointment when a term expires while a Legislature is in session, "it will inevitably result that efforts will be made by the executives of the States to

gather round themselves a small band of adherents who, holding the balance of power, and preventing an election by the Legislature, will deliberately throw into the hands of a Governor the prerogative with which the Constitution of the United States has invested the several Legislatures." The Senate has so often decided against the Governor's right to appoint in such cases as this, and by so great a majority when the question was last raised in a case from Oregon last year, that a reversal of its attitude does not seem possible. But Quay's friends profess confidence that he will pull through, and the public does not feel that confidence in the force of precedents with the Senate in these days which was once entertained.

The President's long review of affairs in the Philippines adds nothing to our knowledge of the past; and as for the future, he distinctly refrains from making any recommendations until "peace shall be restored." Yet, while professing to leave the whole thing to Congress, he asserts that the islands "cannot be abandoned" by us, and goes out of his way to argue against the plan of giving the natives an independent government under an American protectorate. There is not a hint of intending to secure the consent of the governed, though, of course, the President assumes that the majority of the Filipinos are ready and anxious to have him come and bless them by force. It must have been humiliating to a Republican President to have to admit, as Mr. McKinley does, that our flag is now flying over slaves in the Sulu Islands; but he thinks to save himself by saying that the agreement with the Sultan "is not to be deemed in any way to authorize or give the consent of the United States to the existence of slavery." It is there, under the shelter of our flag; but if we only ignore it hard enough, why, for all campaign and oratorical purposes, it ceases to exist.

The message is not nearly so explicit in regard to Cuba as was Secretary Root's report. It is, in fact, strangely bi-vocal in this part. Referring to the joint resolution binding us to withdraw from Cuba, the President affirms that "the pledge" contained in it "is of the highest honorable obligation and must be sacredly kept." He also speaks of the possibility of a future convention of the Cuban people to establish an "independent government." But he elsewhere intimates that the ties which are to bind "the new Cuba" to the United States may be "organic" (that is, of course, by annexation), and long puts

off the day of self-government by the assertion that "our mission . . . is not to be fulfilled by turning adrift any loosely framed commonwealth to face the vicissitudes which too often attend weaker states, whose natural wealth and abundant resources are offset by the incongruities of their political organization, and the recurring occasions for internal rivalries to sap their strength and dissipate their energies." We fear that despondent Cubans and exultant annexationists alike will read those words and say, with the Irishman, that they are "so ambiguous that only one construction can be put upon them."

The President returns this year to the consideration of civil-service reform as a necessary topic in his message, having omitted all reference to it last year. He now defends his famous "backward step" on the familiar lines followed by Secretary Gage, and claims that it has resulted in improving the service, adding: "It is believed that the merit system has been greatly strengthened and its permanence assured." By whom is this believed? Certainly not by the authors and champions of the system. In regard to the establishment of a reform civil service in our Spanish inheritance, he says: "It will be my constant aim in the administration of government in our new possessions to make fitness, character, and merit essential to appointment to office, and to give to the capable and deserving inhabitants preference in appointments." Let us hope that this pledge will be worth more when the time for performance comes, than the President's fervid pledges before he entered upon his duties have proved to be in regard to our home service.

The clause of the proposed House currency bill which substitutes a tax of one-fifth of one per cent. on bank capital in place of one per cent. on circulation cannot be considered a desirable change. National-bank capital is taxed too heavily now, under State and municipal systems. As compared with other forms of moneyed investment it is largely overtaxed, and this bill would handicap it still more. Note issues are a proper subject of taxation, although one per cent. per annum is too heavy. If the Senate shall reject this part of the House bill altogether, it will be no cause for regret. Connected with the banknote question is a project for refunding the outstanding national debt into bonds having a long time to run, and bearing interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The 4s of 1907 constitute one-half of the bonded debt. They will be due in eight years, and if paid will take that much away from the national-bank holdings. The national-bank circulation will be lessened one-half by that means. It is proposed to renew these bonds at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., mainly for

the purpose of keeping the banknotes alive, but partly, we presume, to furnish a commission on the refunding job. This is, perhaps, the most dangerous political issue that could be thrust into the bill. It would raise the question whether the people ought to pay interest on the national debt longer than is actually necessary, in order to accommodate the banks. Such a project cannot be sustained in the forum of economics or of morals. A 4 per cent. bond running eight years will carry 32 per cent. interest. A $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bond running 13 years will carry $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest. Therefore, the Government, if able to pay its 4 per cent. debt in 1907, could not afford to extend it now at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. beyond 1912. Any longer time than that would be an imposition on the taxpayers, which they would be likely to resent, or at all events ought to.

Secretary Long calls attention again to the fact that the officers and men of the North Atlantic squadron have so far gone not merely without reward, but absolutely without recognition, by Congress for their services in the Spanish war. The nominations for promotion made by the President were not acted upon. Through the promotion of others, several of the officers of Sampson's fleet are relatively worse off than they would have been had there been no war. Congress has not even voted them thanks. This, at least, it should now do, urges Mr. Long. He does not explain the extraordinary omission, but everybody knows the cause of it. A personal intrigue of the meanest sort, with a degrading admixture of "politics," is the only reason why this appearance of ungrateful neglect has been exhibited by Congress. The Secretary takes up none of these deplorable quarrels, but, in his renewed tribute to the "precision, brilliancy, and vigor" of the blockade of Santiago, he shows that he knows where the credit is due. We may add that striking testimony to the same effect is to be found in the telegrams which passed between Admiral Cervera and Gen. Blanco. Cervera told the doubting General in the plainest terms that it was impossible for him to escape from Sampson's grip of steel, and when, after the rush to ruin on July 3, Blanco intimated that the squadron might have fared better if it had gone out at night, Cervera answered that in that case its destruction would have been but the speedier and more complete.

Senator Foraker of Ohio has published a long statement to show how the financial plank in the Republican platform of 1896 came to be adopted. Mr. Foraker was the chairman of the committee on resolutions at the St. Louis convention, and he says that he has preserved the records of the committee, includ-

ing every scrap of paper that was presented to or considered by the committee. The avowed purpose of the statement is to teach Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat of Chicago to know his place, and to show that the claim made for him of the authorship of the said financial plank is unwarranted and false. The immediate occasion of Mr. Foraker's writing is an article in the *Metropolitan Magazine* for September by William Eugene Lewis, in which it is affirmed that Mr. Kohlsaat drafted the gold plank of the Republican platform of 1896. Mr. Foraker says that he has seen this statement, or the substance of it, in print several times, and that since Mr. Kohlsaat, although having a newspaper at his command, has not seen fit to deny it, he (Kohlsaat) has perhaps come to believe it himself. So it is time to enlighten him as well as other people. Hence the long and rather tedious article which Mr. Foraker supplies to the press, and which goes to show that Mr. Kohlsaat had very little or nothing to do with the plank in question, unless he wrote the so-called Richards-Hanna resolutions, which were adopted only in part, and that part not very important.

Shortly after the adjournment of the St. Louis convention, and while the authorship of the financial plank of the platform was under discussion, Mr. E. A. Angell of Cleveland, Ohio, wrote to the *New York Evening Post* an account of the origin of that plank which was published in its issue of June 29. The writing of it was not known to Mr. Kohlsaat, nor was the author of it known to him, yet he immediately addressed a letter to the editor of the *Evening Post*, saying that it was a true account except in some unimportant particulars, which he specified. Mr. Angell's statement was in substance the following: On Friday, June 12, a number of gentlemen, among whom were Mr. Henry C. Payne of Wisconsin, ex-Gov. Merriam of Minnesota, ex-Gov. Proctor of Vermont, and Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat of Chicago, spent the entire day in a room at the Southern Hotel, discussing the phraseology of a financial plank which had been brought to St. Louis by Mr. Myron T. Herrick of Ohio, one of Mr. McKinley's intimate friends. This plank was worked over and reduced to shape in words differing very slightly from the form in which it now stands in the platform, and it contained the words "the existing gold standard should be preserved." The only change made subsequently, as regards this sentence, was the substitution of the word "must" for "should." The other changes were of little consequence, but were on the whole improvements. On Monday this plank was submitted by Gov. Merriam to Senator Lodge, Thomas C. Platt, and a few others, and was approved by them with some slight modifications, and on Tues-

day, June 16, it was telegraphed to Mr. McKinley by Mr. Herrick, and approved by him, and was adopted by Mr. Foraker's committee and by the convention. This was the substance of Mr. Angell's communication to the *Evening Post*, which Mr. Kohlsaat in writing endorsed and reaffirmed. Mr. Angell, as it were in anticipation of Foraker's present communication, added these words:

"It will be noted that the plank proposed by Gov. McKinley's adherents and personal friends contains the words 'existing gold standard.' It will also be observed that this plank was framed and agreed to by them before Mr. Platt, or Senator Lodge, or Mr. Lauterbach had arrived to teach our people the elements of finance, and before the great light had illumined Gov. Foraker's mind. It possibly has not escaped the attention of our Eastern friends that this distinguished apostle of the gold standard announced himself last January, after his election as Senator, as in favor of the restoration of the free coinage of silver."

The sworn statement of election expenditures which has been filed by the Ohio Republican State committee is an unusually interesting document. It represents the total outlay as reaching only \$91,000, which will cause a smile in more quarters than one. The amount disbursed includes the committee's note for \$20,000, which was discounted at the savings banks and trust company with which the treasurer of the committee is connected. According to the filed return, Senator Hanna did not contribute anything, but Col. Dick, chairman of the committee, assured the reporters who questioned him on the subject, that the "Senator did his duty nobly, and it is presumed that he will pay off the note." That is a new way of making a campaign contribution without having the amount revealed in the sworn return of the committee. Another item which is missing in the Ohio return is the amount received from postmasters and other federal employees throughout the United States in response to the begging circulars of the finance committee. It is set down in the return that Gen. Horace Porter, Ambassador to France, contributed \$500; Powell Clayton, Minister to Mexico, \$250; Francis B. Loomis, Minister to Venezuela, \$200; and Senator Foraker, \$250, but no sum, individual or lump, is mentioned as coming from minor members of the federal service. Surely all those begging letters were not sent in vain.

The movement for the wholesale disfranchisement of the negroes in Georgia has utterly collapsed. The committee on constitutional amendments in the lower branch of the Legislature reported favorably upon the scheme to establish a new test, by which nobody should be a competent voter unless he not only could read and write any paragraph of the Constitution, but could understand and give a reasonable interpretation of it—except that any man who was entitled

to vote in January, 1867, or the lineal descendant of any such man, might vote, even if he did not possess the educational qualification. This would enable white election officials under the forms of law to deny the suffrage to almost every black man in the State. The injustice of the proposition was so obvious and gross that it could never stand discussion. When it came up in the House on November 28, the chairman of the very committee which by a majority vote had reported it favorably, opposed its passage as unwise, and the only person to say a word for it was its introducer, a member of no special influence. But two representatives joined him when the roll was called, while 137 members voted against the bill. The net result of the agitation is fortunate, as it has shown that the spirit of fair play is dominant in Georgia when an attempt is made to draw the race line. Moreover, other States are likely to be deterred by it from imitating Mississippi.

A very interesting analysis of the city budget for 1900 has been made by Mr. P. T. Sherman, the lonely reform member of the New York Board of Aldermen. He shows that chief among the "fundamental advantages of consolidation" has been an annual increase, during the first three years of the enlarged city's career, of about \$22,000,000 in municipal expenditure. He finds in all departments increased salaried forces, and many duplicated and unnecessary salaries, and estimates the amount of money paid out yearly in useless salaries at fully \$7,000,000. He is doubtless well within the limits in this estimate, for nearly every department of our government has converted itself into a little city government of its own, with all kinds of subordinates, advisers, special clerks, special counsel, confidential stenographers, and other paraphernalia of administration, all at the public expense. Mr. Sherman is quite right in saying that this \$7,000,000 "is really used to pay workers for Tammany; for the officials who draw these salaries, having no work to do for the city except to draw their salaries, can readily spend their time in political work for their organization."

The plethoric condition of the Tammany treasury is revealed with great freedom by Mr. Croker and his associates. They raise \$60,000 with perfect ease for the purchase of the Parnell homestead in Ireland, an act which the Lord Mayor of Dublin says will make the name of Mr. Croker beloved for ever in all the homes of Ireland. They are now proposing to take hold of the Dewey Arch fund and carry that through to complete success. Whence comes all this wealth? What is Mr. Croker living on? How does it happen that he can sail for Europe, for several

months of idleness and comfortable living, amid the cheers of a great host of admirers, and with no anxiety whatever about paying his bills? These are questions which at one time might have excited mild curiosity in the minds of the people, but nobody bothers himself about them now. Mr. Croker has become one of our most familiar institutions. We accept him and his government, which he says publicly that he runs for his personal benefit, as a matter of course. He serves on our committees of eminent citizens on great public occasions, his name is signed in all lists of notables, and he rides in our processions and accepts gratefully the homage of the people. Through habit, we have come to accept him, as we come to accept everything else. He is, in fact, the chief of those "fundamental advantages of consolidation" which our new charter gave us.

Ever since the *Sun* declared its independence of Typographical Union No. 6 the officers and agents of the union have been bombarding the merchants of New York with letters and circulars threatening them with loss of trade and other injury if they advertise in that newspaper. They have also done everything in their power to prevent newsdealers and newsboys from selling the *Sun*. They have picketed the newspaper office and its branch offices, its patrons, its agents, its advertisers, and its sympathizers. All the machinery of the boycott has been brought in requisition to cripple and break down the paper; and all because the *Sun* hired such men as it chose to do its work. The particular facts which led to the boycott are all comprehended in a single sentence: The *Sun* insisted on managing its own affairs, and the Typographical Union objected. Hence the boycott and the picketing which have been running on for a period of three months. The *Sun* gave the boycotters fair notice that it would appeal to the law for protection. It showed, by citations from similar cases that had passed through the courts, that boycotting is an unlawful conspiracy, punishable by fine and imprisonment; but, of course, the boycotters did not desist on that account. In due time the *Sun's* case came to a hearing in the Supreme Court, and on Friday an injunction was granted by Judge Bookstaver against the officers and agents of Typographical Union No. 6, restraining them from all the acts complained of, such as sending threatening letters to merchants and other advertisers, intimidating newsdealers and newsboys, picketing the *Sun's* offices, intimidating its employees, or otherwise injuring its business, its property, and its property rights. The injunction is as sweeping as the boycott itself. It now remains to be seen whether the law as pronounced by the courts can be enforced in New York.

SECRETARY ROOT'S REPORT.

It is a satisfaction to read Mr. Root's annual report as Secretary of War, for one thing because it is evidently the work of a trained mind, of real grasp and power, going straight to the point, in the spirit of the sound advice of Bishop Blomfield: "When you come to a man of business, keep to your business, finish your business, and go about your business." We can only sigh as we think what Mr. Root might have done had he been in Gen. Alger's place from the beginning.

The sections relating to army reorganization are of the highest importance. We shall discuss them presently. But what will most instantly command attention is the Secretary's discussion of the questions of insular government forced upon us by the war with Spain. These come necessarily at present within the purview of the War Department. Besides, it was understood, when Mr. Root took office, that his legal abilities were especially sought, for the aid they might give the President in making recommendations to Congress of legislation in execution of the Treaty of Paris.

Of Mr. Root's proposals we must say that, given the circumstances, they are enlightened and honorable. In regard to Cuba, the Secretary's trumpet gives no uncertain sound. "We shall," he flatly says, "transfer to the Cuban government the control now held by us in trust for the people of Cuba." "The revenues of the island of Cuba have been treated as a trust fund for which the United States was accountable to the people of Cuba, and the accounts have been so kept that this department will be ready to account for all money received, whenever the proper time comes." These words will be received with joy by the Cubans, and will alone be as valuable in calming agitation in the island as two regiments of soldiers. Mr. Root is much more explicit and emphatic in this official utterance of his than the President has ever been; but it must be that the subordinate now speaks with the assent of the chief, and that we are by so much nearer to keeping faith with the Cubans. Military control must be for some time continued, the Secretary believes, but the islanders will not mind that; they will rather welcome it if along with it goes the distinct promise and preparation of independence in the end. For the rest, Secretary Root urges that our temporary military occupation of Cuba be made to minister as directly as possible to the physical and moral recuperation of the people, along the lines now so successfully followed. He also recommends that Congress should, during the period of our control, grant to Cuban exporters fully as favorable terms as to their competitors in the West Indies.

In his general discussion of the kind of government to be given the islands

ceded to us by Spain, Mr. Root strikes the right note by saying at the start that "It is our unquestioned duty to make the interests of the people over whom we assert sovereignty the first and controlling consideration in all legislation and administration which concerns them." This will excite the sneers of the speculators and the office-seekers, who snuff the spoils from afar, but it must be made the watchword of Administration and Congress alike, if we are not to fall off our "glory-crowned heights" into a pit of falseness and failure, to the derision of all mankind. In regard to Porto Rico, for which Mr. Root sketches out a somewhat elaborate scheme of territorial government, he says, with unmistakable clearness of intent, that "It will be necessary that some cardinal rule shall be adopted and rigidly followed regarding appointment to office." What this rule should be, he describes in cold-blooded terms, calculated to send chills down the spine of every Charley in Ohio:

"Wherever a Porto Rican can be found capable and willing to perform official duties he should be selected, and the aim should be to include in the civil service of the island no greater number of Americans from the United States than are necessary for the introduction of the methods of administration in which Americans have been trained and Porto Ricans have not.

"Wherever it is necessary to employ Americans, except in the chief offices, a system of civil-service examination should be provided, under which requests from the Governor of Porto Rico for suitable persons to be appointed may be filled."

Into the legal and constitutional questions involved in such a plan of government we need not now enter. Congress and the courts will have their fill of them before they get through. Though Mr. Root thinks that the Porto Ricans have no constitutional right to demand uniformity of tariff laws, he strongly urges, as a measure of policy and justice, that "the customs duties between Porto Rico and the United States be removed." This is a grave question, the discussion of which in its constitutional and fiscal aspects must be postponed.

The radical and able recommendations for the improvement of the army include a general war college, corresponding to similar institutions in Europe; staff corps to consist of officers temporarily and not permanently detailed; promotions for merit and by selection instead of for seniority only; close relations with the navy and the National Guard, and, generally, a careful preparation for war in time of peace. In regard to these proposed changes, he says, what has frequently been pointed out in these columns, that they will accomplish "results which are provided for in every considerable army in the world, and which under our organization are not the business of anybody in particular."

There can be no difference of opinion as to the necessity of the creation of a general war college, or general staff, af-

ter our experience in the war with Spain. A similar organization furnishes the eyes, ears, and brains of every Continental military body, and has everywhere been the most favored and cherished corps since the one at Berlin, under the guidance of Moltke, raised Prussia to the front rank of military nations, and made possible the overwhelming defeats of the Austrians in 1866 and of the French in 1870-1871. Its absence here rendered the United States unfit to carry on so puny a war as that in Cuba without extravagance, inefficiency, and intolerable scandals, together with needless suffering and loss of life. Given an efficient general staff, and there will be a competent body at hand to make graduation from West Point not, as is so often the case, the end of an officer's professional education, but merely the beginning of a life-long study of the science of war and the art of handling as large bodies of troops as may be got together in this country. Given trained staff officers, and there can be mapped out long before the outbreak of war every foreseeable detail, from the plan of campaign and the selection of generals down to the purchase of shoes in Massachusetts and canned fruit in California. If the perfection of the German system is fortunately impossible in this republic, it is none the less possible to map out complete plans which would produce similar results to those accomplished by the navy in 1898. And all this may be done, as Mr. Root points out, with comparatively little expense, and "without any revolutionary interference with the general scheme of organization," except that, in our opinion, the existing staff corps must be abolished or consolidated.

In regard to the latter, Mr. Root again takes advanced ground. His adoption of the principle that the staff corps, whether executive or supply, should be made up of officers temporarily detailed from the line, instead of being appointed to them for life, or until retirement for age, will cause much unhappiness in certain Washington military circles. We cannot improve upon Mr. Root's statement that—

"Nothing can be more important than that the officers of the army shall feel that their rise in rank depends upon what they do; that ability, intellectual activity, faithful performance of duty, and gallant conduct are more certain claims to preferment than social or political influence. A system of promotions which is divorced from the efficiency record is not merely unjust, but it destroys ambition and checks the effort of the army."

The Secretary's proposal that officers shall be promoted not only because of becoming seniors in their grades as is done now, but also because of gallantry or special ability or merit, is again merely the adoption of a principle in force in all foreign armies. Its value to the army will depend upon the justice with which the merit system is applied, and the absence of political or

personal favoritism. It is amply sufficient at this time to point out that, had such a method been in use in this country during the last ten years, Gen. Shafter would not have commanded the Fifth Army Corps at Santiago, Gen. Brooke would have had no opportunity to blunder in Porto Rico and Cuba, and, in all probability, Gen. Otis would never have commanded more than a brigade, if as much. The friction between the military and naval officers during Gen. Otis's tour of command in the Philippines would alone justify Mr. Root's plea for a close alliance between the two services, did not the country's long coast lines make such a union a tactical necessity.

For decades past most of our army expenditures have been wasteful, and therefore inexcusable, because with them there has been purchased a very inferior military machine. If the Secretary's views and plans prevail in Congress, the people will at least get what they pay for—a modern, capable, and efficiently administered army.

THE "NEW DIPLOMACY" AND WAR.

Mr. James Bryce has rendered a great service to the public in printing, as a "Prefatory Note" to the third edition of his 'Impressions of South Africa,' an absolutely impartial, clear, and succinct narrative of the events in the Transvaal since 1895, which have resulted in the present war. The situation, as he describes it, which existed in the Transvaal, in the Orange Free State, and in Cape Colony, was one of complete friendliness between the Dutch and English races. There was good feeling towards Great Britain in all three; in Cape Colony and in the Orange Free State, progress and enlightenment, and a growing town population. The people of the Transvaal were much more conservative, pig-headed, and ignorant. They were totally unable, through want of knowledge, to provide for the proper government of the great horde of foreigners which their newly discovered gold mines had invited to their territory. It is to this incompetence, rather than to malice, and to the retention of the administration by the older men, that Mr. Bryce ascribes most of the grievances of which the Uitlanders complained. But to set this off, there was, according to him, a growing younger party, among the burghers, which, already containing the moral and intellectual influence of the country, perceived that the actual state of things could not continue, and was ready to join the Uitlanders in agitating for sweeping changes. Consequently, the sorrows of the Uitlanders were on their face temporary; property was secured, and the complaints of disability were not greater or more serious than mining adventurers in new countries usually have to make. This promising

state of things was all changed by the Jameson raid, which nobody attempts to defend, but about which many have lied. It was due to the haste and greed of the capitalists who were engaged in exploiting the country under the superintendence of Mr. Rhodes.

After that, the Boers naturally became very suspicious. They could not be persuaded that the British had not designs on their independence. These suspicions were strengthened by the attitude assumed by Mr. Chamberlain. Instead of being patient, conciliatory, and indulgent in dealing with an ignorant but well-meaning population, who were well known to be ready to sacrifice everything for their independence, he suddenly became querulous, exacting, and haughty. He grew more and more deeply impressed with the wrongs of the Uitlanders. He could not see, what every other rational man saw, the probability that these wrongs would be made transitory by the rapid growth of the new mining population, by the rise of the young burgher party, and by the disappearance from the scene, in the course of nature, of Krüger and the old Dutch oligarchs. These facts made it plain that, even if the Uitlanders had to suffer, they would not have to suffer long. The poor old Boers, who trekked so bravely and fought so valiantly, were destined surely, in the ordinary course of nature and through the mere spread of civilization and wealth, to disappear from the scene, and leave the soil, which they had bedewed so plentifully with their blood, to the potent forces of the coming time.

Mr. Chamberlain even went so far as to raise new points in the negotiations which ensued, and, when he found that the mention of "suzerainty" inflamed and frightened the Boers, instead of keeping it out of sight and belittling its importance, he enlarged its meaning, and gave out that it meant not merely, as Mr. Bryce says it really meant, the right to control foreign relations, but the right to interfere in domestic concerns, which was the very thing the Boers had dreaded and foretold.

Mr. Chamberlain's position in England was at that time peculiar. In London, in June last, before the controversy had entered on its acute stage, there were but few who denied that he was bent on war. There were many who told you that he must have war or he would be ruined. The earlier schemes with which he entered office, such as the treatment of the colonies as "neglected estates," and the creation of the Zollverein to include them and the mother country, and the plans for the elevation of the poor and the comfort of old men, had come to nothing to speak of. In the twinkling of an eye the great English Radical became wholly possessed by the sorrows of the emigrant miners in South Africa, and the saving of the British Empire from the hellish designs of 70,000

Dutch farmers in the Transvaal. Most of his dispatches and speeches bristled with taunts and threats. It soon became very evident that his mission was not settlement, but provocation. We do not recall, except Bismarck's challenge to the French in 1870, a similarly diabolic rôle as having been played by any modern statesman.

From the month of May on, the "new diplomacy" was in full play. Every dispatch, instead of being kept, as in the old diplomacy, in the Minister's desk until called for by Parliament, was laid before the public with a Chamberlain gloss. The services of the press in inflaming the people with news of the absolute necessity of conquering the Boers, were eagerly enlisted. In London, editors are even more impressionable by official recognition than they are here. Consequently, a few of the more influential found themselves welcome once a week or so, at the Colonial Office, to talk over the affairs of South Africa with the great statesman himself, to hear fresh revelations of Krüger's duplicity and malice, and British official rejoicing over the progress of the imperial movement in America.

The resulting harangues in the press and the growing excitement of the public naturally enabled Mr. Chamberlain to hold his own against the peace-loving members of the Cabinet, though they well understood his character and designs. The Jingoism became every day more audacious, began to break up public meetings, and howl "Rule Britannia" at the music-halls and in the streets. The voices of the men of light and leading, like John Morley, Sir William Harcourt, James Bryce, and Bishop Percival, had harder work in making themselves heard. Nevertheless, the party of peace made progress, owing to the Colonial Secretary's inability to put on paper what his demands were, or what his ultimatum, if he went to war, would be; for every war has to be preceded by an ultimatum. This was the trouble which stared the Right Hon. Joseph in the face. He had an easy time enough while he was declaiming, but sooner or later he would have to formulate reasons why the Boers had to be killed for doing, or not doing, certain things. At this critical moment of his career, Krüger came to his rescue by his deplorable ultimatum, and Mr. Chamberlain was able to laugh at those who asked what his ultimatum would be, somewhat as the confidence man laughs at you when you fail to find on him the watch which you think he has stolen from you. We have here a perfect picture of the working of the "new diplomacy"—the need of war to distract public attention, felt by a demagogue or party in trouble; the selection of some weak foreign antagonist for a quarrel; the making of insulting demands on him; the conduct of negotiations with him about these demands in

public before people excited almost to frenzy already by a subsidized or caajoied press; the steady provocation of the enemy till he does something to silence completely the voices of reason, justice, and mercy, and the conversion of the successful demagogue into a first-class national hero.

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP.

Every little while the press gives us an account of some new discussion of the well-worn question of "training for citizenship." The subject is one of the most common, if not one of the most hackneyed, in the whole field of educational debate. It is "standing matter" on the programmes of teachers' conventions and young men's congresses. It is sure to crop out in every college president's inaugural address, and is rarely absent from baccalaureate sermons and commencement speeches. No educational journal would be complete without more or less extended reference to the subject at least four times a year. Wherever students, young or old, or men for the time being educationally inclined, are gathered together, there is this perennial question in their midst. It is very significant that, with all the wealth of rhetoric and good intention lavished upon it, it should still hold its place, and rarely fail, when vigorously and incisively presented, to arouse the interest and enthusiasm of an audience. The story may be old, with repetitious phrase and familiar illustration in the telling of it; but somehow it does not seem to lose its charm.

It is interesting to note the more important elements of which training for citizenship is commonly thought to consist. Surely it is not for want of panaceas that the body politic continues to be diseased. One writer or speaker, for example, urges a broader and more thorough study of history, particularly American history. At the root of most public sin lies ignorance—ignorance of the course of human progress, of the critical moments and pivotal points in the development of civilization, of the steps by which our country has come to be what it is. It can but clarify the vision and strengthen the hands of an honest, but ill-informed, Democrat to study the lives of Jefferson and Jackson, just as it can but set right every honest Republican to know the political principles of Hamilton and the extraordinary career of Lincoln. Another writer urges a more general study of "civil government" in schools, and would have every child become acquainted with the administrative machinery, local, state, and national, that so he may come to realize his duties and responsibilities as a citizen. Still another would have political economy and sociology taught in grammar and high schools, and give boys and girls, from early life, correct notions

about capital and labor, currency and finance, and the fundamental conditions of healthy political society. Some would adopt all three suggestions at once, and so alter the curriculum of school and college as to make place for the studies bearing most directly on what they insist is the chief business of life.

It will not escape notice that each of these suggestions—and they are the ones most frequently urged—purposes to attain civic goodness by increasing the citizen's stock of information. Now, it cannot be denied that information on every one of the points mentioned, and many others, is highly desirable; nor can there be any doubt that ignorance is often an effective bar to the satisfactory performance of political duty. It ought to be apparent, however, without much argument, that knowledge and right conduct are not quite the same thing, and are not always even found together. Were all men as righteous as they are well informed, the dawn of the millennium might ere this have been discerned. On the contrary, some of the greatest rascals in American politics have been men of intellectual attainments and varied accomplishments. There has never been a visionary project launched, or a scheme for getting around some constitutional prohibition or legal safeguard set on foot, which has not drawn to its support men of marked intellectual strength. In our own day, we have seen men of information and cultivated tastes swearing allegiance to the economic vagaries of Mr. Bryan, and apologizing for the scandalous invasion of the civil service by President McKinley. Knowledge, in short, is only the accumulated stores of the human mind, and may or may not determine, in the right direction, opinion and conduct.

In the same way, what we have in mind when we talk about "good citizenship" is not necessarily furthered by exceptional familiarity with the details of government and administration. It is not so much ignorance of administrative methods, as the employment of those methods for corrupt and selfish ends, that stamps our politics with evil. The experts who "run" the political "machine" are perfectly acquainted with all its parts, but they are hardly the men we should like to have instructing our children in the duties of citizenship. We fancy that Mr. Platt could give an extremely interesting and informing course of lectures on "practical politics"; but we do not think of Mr. Platt as a good citizen. Mr. Hanna could doubtless discourse most instructively on the conduct of Presidential campaigns, but we do not think of Mr. Hanna as primarily a good citizen. President McKinley could greatly enlighten us on the obligations of the executive to enforce the laws of the land; but we should hesitate to select President McKinley as a type of the good citizen. The patent fact of the matter

is that knowledge, in and of itself, carries no necessary power for good, and does not prevent those who know the most about government from governing us the worst.

What we need, over and above a knowledge of historic fact, is a certain moral touch, a critical appreciation of measures and men, a kindling enthusiasm for a proper conduct of affairs. It is useless to inform ourselves of the ways of the fathers, under the impression that we are thereby training ourselves for citizenship, unless we also grasp the ideals toward which the fathers worked, and light up with our own imagination the picture of government as they meant it to be. It is useless to delve among administrative details, unless we gather some sense of obligation to keep them from perversion. It is useless to master the laws of currency and finance, if, in practical life, we are to be swayed about by every wind of doctrine. We must have the frank and conscious judgment as to the moral worth of things, as well as knowledge of the things themselves. Such is not, we are aware, the universal view. Moral instruction of any sort has practically disappeared from the public schools, and our learned historians are shy of getting beyond a careful narration of events. But good citizenship has as its foundation, not only knowledge, but patriotism—it is patriotism in action; and patriotism is a moral ideal as well as a mass of facts. Matthew Arnold defined religion as morality touched with emotion; we may define patriotism as knowledge touched with imagination. It is the passion for cleanness and purity in politics, the hunger and thirst for righteousness in public life, that is to secure for us good citizens and good government, if anything can; and it is this, added to knowledge, that holds for us the promise of the future, as it is our safety here and now.

THE FUTURE OF THE SMALL COLLEGE.

If one were asked to name the most important development in higher education in this country during the present generation, the answer would, undoubtedly, instance the rise of the universities. Starting from a condition in which professional instruction was on a low plane, and graduate instruction almost unknown, the whole structure of the American university now familiar to us, with its professional and graduate schools, its libraries, laboratories, and museums, and its large and highly organized teaching and administrative corps, has grown by leaps and bounds, and, for the most part, before our own eyes. Each year finds the student less dependent than formerly upon European institutions for the training which his particular business in life demands,

while in many directions the facilities for scholarly attainment and research are already distinctly superior to any offered abroad. To be sure, we have learned, sometimes by painful experience, that it takes a good deal of money to "run" a university, and certainly none of our greater institutions has as yet anywhere near as ample funds as it could profitably use; but the money seems likely to be forthcoming, in larger and stronger flow, to the continual and rapid enhancement of every facility and opportunity now enjoyed.

It is a serious question what effect this development of the university is likely to have upon the immediate future of the so-called small college. The small college has filled a peculiar place in American society. Located, often, outside of the larger centres of population, and drawing its students from a limited geographical or social area, it has offered a type of education which, useful as a foundation for more advanced study, has served also to perpetuate much of educational tradition and custom. Such a college, as a rule, has comparatively small financial resources; its faculty are rarely great scholars; and its social advantages are inconsiderable. Yet, important and indispensable as the work of the small college has been, and praiseworthy as are those who have unselfishly labored in its behalf, it is fairly open to question whether the future of higher education in the United States does not now rest with the university. The university is undeniably the great force to-day in educational councils, and quite the most conspicuous figure in the public eye. Its superior wealth enables it to offer facilities for instruction with which no college can compete. It is steadily attracting to its service the ablest men in all departments, until no college can now hope to retain long a professor who makes a name for himself. There can be little doubt but that undergraduate instruction in the university—the instruction which comes directly into competition with the college—is of a superior sort, better in quality and greater in variety and amount than any college can offer. There is a more eager and enthusiastic intellectual life, a clearer view of the worth of sound learning, a closer contact with scholarly instructors, and a richer and a healthier social atmosphere. These are things with which the small college cannot compete; and if there be added to them the attractive force of numbers—the inevitable tendency of the largest institutions to grow the fastest—it becomes a question of pressing and vital concern whether the college must not before long become either a preparatory school on the one hand, or a university on the other, or, failing either, close its doors.

The action most likely, we think, to bring matters to a head, would be the reduction of the undergraduate course in

the university from four to three years. So long as the first degree can be obtained anywhere only after the same length of time, institutions of widely different grade can continue to flourish side by side. But the dropping of a year by a few leading universities would bring the small colleges face to face with a problem whose solution might well involve, not only their standing in the educational world, but their very existence as well. The contingency is not remote. Harvard has for some time had the matter of a three years' course under consideration; and what Harvard does to-day, most institutions are likely to be doing ten years from now. The increasing tendency to make the undergraduate course a prerequisite for admission to the professional school, the late age at which the graduate of the professional school now enters upon his work in the world, and the superior meaning of the baccalaureate degree now as compared with its traditional significance, are arguments strongly urged in favor of the change. It will not escape notice, also, that a number of universities already practically shorten the undergraduate course by allowing the fourth year to be spent in the professional or graduate school. As to the wisdom or propriety of the proposed change, we do not now express any opinion. What we wish to call attention to is the fact that such a change, if once brought about, cannot fail to put the small college in jeopardy. When the degree of Bachelor of Arts can be had at Harvard or Yale, for example, in three years, how long will any New England college be able to hold its students for four? No loyalty to an honorable past could long avail against the opportunity of saving a whole year in the preparation for bread-winning.

Once the change of which we have been speaking shall have come about, the path of the college, if it is to maintain itself under the new competition, would seem to be reasonably clear. The college must, in the first place, reduce its own course to three years. It may do this promptly, or it may delay until the operation is necessary in order to save its life; but that it must do it, sooner or later, is obvious. In the second place, the undergraduate course in the college must be made fully equal, in scope and value, to the undergraduate course in the university. At present such equality is far from obtaining. A number of the leading universities now rate the average college course as the equivalent of but from two to three years of their own; that is to say, the graduate of the college is admitted to the junior or senior class in the university, while the acknowledged superiority of university work might very likely be a sufficient warrant for bestowing the first degree at the end of three years instead of four; but it may well be doubted whether public opinion would tolerate a

corresponding "degradation" of the degree on the part of the college. Somehow or other, the college must raise the standard of its work, at the same time that it is cutting down the time of its course.

The crucial question is whether this can be done. Something, no doubt, can, without much difficulty, be accomplished. The intellectual standards of most colleges are not very rigorous, and might well be stiffened. The college cannot, of course, lower its standard of admission; to do that would be to lose much of what has been won by a generation of strenuous effort. Whether, however, the college, placed between the efficient high school and the powerful university, can continue to hold its own, and still offer an education worth rewarding with a degree, is the question whose serious consideration cannot long be evaded. Yet nothing can be clearer than that unless the college can so hold its own, its days, at least in its present form, are numbered. It may become a high-grade preparatory school, sending its pupils, unadorned with a degree, to such professional careers as may still be open to them; or it may in some way affiliate with the university and take over some of the work of elementary instruction now done by the latter. But it cannot hope to retain its present independent and honorable status, or exert a large influence in educational affairs, unless it is able to convince the critical public of the soundness and adequacy of its work.

THE VILLARI TESTIMONIAL.

FLORENCE, November 17, 1899.

Ceremonies such as those just terminated in the hall of the University college at Pisa are so common in England and in America that they excite little curiosity, but in Italy it is extremely rare that an individual, unless he be a popular soldier or statesman, gets honored in his lifetime. Therefore, when last year it was announced that the colleagues and admirers of Pasquale Villari intended to commemorate him in his capacity of teacher of youth during the last forty years, and that the form proposed was to be a foundation for assisting future students to pursue their historical studies, there was considerable doubt whether sufficient funds could be raised for this *Fondazione Villari* to insure the sum of four or five hundred dollars, which suffices for the modest requirements of real students in Italy, who are as frugal as the Scotch when really bent on study, and on study only. One thousand pounds sterling was the most the sanguine friends expected to raise, but an English admirer, Col. Gilman, opened the ball with one hundred pounds; admirers from England, Scotland, the United States, contributed with hearty good will, while the subscription list contains the name of almost every man of note and culture in Italy; his Majesty King Humbert closing the list with \$1,000 and a genial telegram duly read and appreciated by the crowded audience of scholars, professors, friends, and admirers, gathered from all parts of the country, together with a num-

ber of illustrious foreigners. The presence of Augusto Conti, the well-known Catholic philosopher, and one of the chief and most ardent promoters of the testimonial, is a proof of the esteem in which Villari is held by all classes of patriots, whatever be the difference in their political and religious opinions. Augusto Conti was the standard-bearer in the famous battalion of professors and students who signalized Tuscan valor on the bloody field of Curtatone in 1848, where so many of their numbers fell dead or wounded on the field. As he was unable to read his speech, owing to falling eyesight, it was read for him by Prof. Raini, and one paragraph is worthy of quotation, as it touches on the part of Villari's varied and laborious work which seems to us his highest claim to the gratitude of his countrymen:

"You, the active benefactor of the working classes, have toiled with fraternal, I might say paternal, solicitude, not to arouse evil passions and to promise imaginary equality among them, but to secure just wages, to elevate their morality and dignity. This is well known to the Tuscan straw-plaiters; to the Sicilian toilers in the sulphur mines; to the dwellers in caves and cellars of your native city, and now to the poor navvies in the excavations of the Simplon tunnel, about whom you have written with so much wisdom and kindness, sparing neither long journeys nor sojourn in order to ascertain the real facts and propose ameliorations in their hard lot."

(A touching telegram came from these grateful toilers, or rather from the band known as the *Salesiana*.)

The Professor himself, while naturally embarrassed at having to listen to such various and warm praise from all sides, seemed in excellent health and spirits, and was exceedingly happy in his speech of thanks, saying that criticism had become so entirely a second nature with him that he felt sure he could write a better book than any yet published if devoted to a criticism of his own writings. He attributed the "unmerited honor" paid to him to various fortuitous circumstances: the choice of Florence for his historical studies—Florence, the beloved of the civilized world, which appeared as an electric spark in the night of the Middle Ages, illuminating the world and determining the character of the new Italy; the result of such studies proving that the greatest and strongest nations are those wherein society is justest, most honest, which give the highest proofs of social justice, the one solid basis of all civilization. This conviction it was which led him to a study of the social conditions of Italy, to the denunciation of many and gross injustices which abound. This, he said (and alas with what truth!), arouses sympathy, but little more. People read your descriptions of the poor wretches toiling in the Roman Campagna throughout a long day without earning enough to satisfy their hunger, and say, "What a beautiful article!"—simply that and nothing more.

The remainder of his speech was devoted to his beloved Institute, to his colleagues, and, above all, to his scholars, who had presented him with a capital portrait painted "to the life." Villari dwelt lovingly on many promising students cut off in their prime, on the pleasure of meeting old scholars now engaged in tuition in the different provinces, and always gratefully affectionate. His tribute to Augusto Conti was duly appreciated by all. As the Dean of the Institute, he spoke of his science and

love of country, not forgetting his defence of the flag confided to him by the University battalion, and was greeted with such hearty applause as must have delighted his English wife and perfect helpmate, Linda, daughter of the fine old radical member for Brighton, James White, and the perfect translator into English of her husband's historical works on Savonarola and Machiavelli. Their one son, bright and very English looking, Gino, was also present, and will certainly carry through life a pleasant memory of the day, not forgetting that the unusual tribute paid to his father was due quite as much to his sterling courage and honesty, to his generous, unostentatious, and disinterested character, as to his real merit as historian and well-done work as a professor.

The subscriptions, amounting to 43,000 lire (about \$8,500), are, by Villari's own desire, to be administered by a Commission composed of the presidents of the faculty of letters and of the Istituto Storico Italiano in Rome; of a representative of the Accademia del Lincei and of the Accademia della Crusca, with one other professor of history. The Commission is to meet every three years, and decide what special branch of history shall be chosen for the candidates for the fellowship, which will be eagerly competed for by graduates from all the universities and superior institutes, women laureates (who are now increasingly numerous) included.

As a historian, Pasquale Villari needs no introduction to the readers of the *Nation*; as Senator, Minister of Public Instruction, member of the Superior College of Public Instruction, to which he is elected whenever the rules permit, he is as well known in Italy. Born in Naples in 1827, he has given a capital sketch of public instruction there in his preface to the works of his college friend, Luigi La Vista, and of his beloved master, De Sanctis, "the last of the purists." After the fatal 15th of May, 1849, when his friend of friends, La Vista, was shot to death at his side by one of the Swiss Guards of King Bomba, he came to Florence and commenced his historical publications with an introduction to the History of Italy, followed up by a study of Cesare Beccaria; an essay on the origin and progress of the philosophy of history; a critical essay on the biographers of Savonarola, who had always attracted his sympathy, but concerning whom he found, from his researches in the Florentine archives, that he knew next to nothing. It is characteristic of the man's honesty that he burnt his already prepared manuscript and set to work afresh, publishing his now well-known work only in 1860, after he had been appointed Professor of History in the University of Pisa by the Minister Ridoifi in 1859, and later to the post he still occupies in the Istituto di Studi Superiori, founded by Ricasoli, Peruzzi, and other valiant Florentines, but which owes its rank as a real and first-class university more to Villari than to any one else.

In 1860 he returned to Naples, and was appreciated at his true worth by Dr. Agostino Bertani, Garibaldi's *alter ego* for the time being, who, even more than to political affairs, devoted his attention to the horrible sanitary conditions of the city and the appalling misery and degradation of the poorest classes. The idea of the disembowelling of Naples was originally Bertani's, as the reports which he drew up and which

have been published since his death amply prove. He chose Villari as the representative of the dictator Government in Turin, and, though the latter declined the office, he drew up the instructions for the office, which were approved and signed by Garibaldi without a single alteration. During the time Villari spent in Naples, he first became acquainted with the actual state of the population; but when Garibaldi handed over the liberated province to the King, the governments which succeeded one after the other took no thought for the welfare of the inhabitants, but simply of subjecting the south to the north.

Villari returned to his Institute, but could not long refrain from mooting the subject which often saddened him in the midst of his scholars and literary studies. In October, 1861, he wrote a letter to the ultra-moderate newspaper, the *Perseveranza* of Milan, on the Camorra of Naples, insisting that it was a duty of all in authority to do their utmost for its suppression, because of its material oppression and moral degradation of the very poorest classes. He showed that it was of no use to arrest the camorristi and send them to the common prisons to which all their friends and accomplices had access, and recommended the rigorous punishment of the chiefs, who should be confined in penitentiaries, while their victims should be encouraged to resist their requisitions to the utmost. But the sixties were not years propitious for the study of social questions. With Venice to be freed and the French to be dislodged from Rome, the political question occupied the minds of all. Bertani, after the Mentana episode, demanded an official inquiry into the conditions of the peasant classes, and Villari was one of the few moderates who seconded him. As a rule, the wealthy classes of all nations object to the raising of the social spectre, and when Villari's "Lettere Meridionali" appeared in the chief organ of the Moderate party, the *Opinione*, he was assailed on all sides by the members of his own party for his revelations, or, as some of them said, his "fictitious narrations"; indeed, many of them maintained that the "fondaci" (or barns), where the miserable denizens of the slums are huddled together like sardines in a barrel, were his invention pure and simple. He was told that he knew nothing of the misery of other cities—of Vienna, Berlin, New York, not to speak of London. So to London he went, and saw by night and by day the worst quarters and the vilest alleys that the most courageous policeman could show him; visited the lodging-houses, the dens of the opium-eaters; and, returning, affirmed "on his honor" that the poor of Naples were infinitely more wretched than the very poorest of London.

But of this, his persistent and exhaustive work, we have already spoken in the *Nation*, where also have appeared extracts from his many pamphlets on social questions. What marks out Villari from his colleagues who started in the race is that he remains alone to do battle for the unhappy millions who cannot help themselves. Once it was the proud vaunt of the Liberals that they had initiated a series of social remedies, but, with the death of Bertani, of Saffi, and their fellow-workers, nothing has been done, nothing attempted for their benefit, and, therefore, it is no wonder if the entire working population and now numbers of

the peasants have enrolled themselves under the banners of the Socialists—the Collectivists, as they style themselves—who succeed in persuading them that, if they will but fill the city and provincial councils with their members, and send them to the national Parliament, very soon the face of the country will be socially transformed and general prosperity and plenty prevail. That Villari does not subscribe to this belief goes without saying. What he insists on is, that things are going from bad to worse, and that the old dilemma repeats itself, "Reform or revolution." He has but just returned from his inspection of the Simplon excavation, and we shall soon have the result of his observations. Even as we write comes the last number of the *Nuova Antologia*, with the first of a series of his articles, entitled "New Problems," where we find such sentences as, "A corrupt Italy has no right to existence." "The truth is, that, after the first heroic enthusiasm faded away, the North, which for so long governed Italy, lost its faith in the force of justice and virtue, and failed in courage to do its duty at any cost. Had it not so failed it would have moralized both North and South, and promoted the true welfare of the whole country." Then, recurring to the sad old theme, he continues:

"Every time that I return to Naples, I think of the hundred millions of lire destined for the amelioration of the city from a sanitary point of view, and above and before all for the housing of the poor. And when I look at the Rettifilo (the quarter of Naples built on the site of the old slums), with its new, lofty, sumptuous palaces, and then turn my eyes downwards to the right and left, and see the old filth, the old corruption; when I remember that numbers of the old hovels were pulled down without a single habitation being built for the really poorest, as has been proved over and over again; when I see how those utterly destitute are worse off than ever, because they have been compelled to huddle together in ever-increasing numbers in the hovels that have been left still standing; when I think of the depredations committed and the money wasted, it seems to me that many of the people driving by in their carriages ought to be sent to the galleys."

J. W. M.

HUGO'S "THINGS SEEN."—II.

PARIS, November 6, 1899.

The sentiments which Victor Hugo first entertained towards Louis Napoleon were far from hostile. The President showed him many attentions, of which he was sensible. Still, he said as early as February, 1849:

"With the best intentions in the world and a certain very visible measure of intelligence and aptitude, I am afraid Louis Bonaparte will succumb beneath his task. For him, France, the century, the new spirit, the instincts proper to the soil and to the time, are so many sealed books. He views without comprehending the agitations of the human mind, Paris, events, men, things, ideas. He belongs to that ignorant class called princes, and to that category of foreigners who are called emigrants. To those who examine him carefully, he has the air of a patient rather than of a governor. He has nothing of the Bonaparte either in his face or in his manner; he probably does not belong to them. People remember the easy ways of Queen Hortense."

On the 5th of December, 1850, Jerome Bonaparte met Hugo at the French Theatre, at a representation of "Adrienne Lecouvreur," and complained bitterly to him of his nephew. "Louis is mad," said he. "He has no confidence in his friends, and gives

himself up to his family. He distrusts his family, and allows himself to be garroted by the old royalist parties. I was better received, after my return to France, by Louis Philippe at the Tuilleries than I am now at the Élysée by my nephew." And so the old King of Westphalia went on, telling Victor Hugo that the presidency of the Republic had first been offered to himself by Fould, in the name of Thiers, Molé, Berryer, and Marshal Bugeaud. Molé, according to Fould, considered Louis a mere idiot. Thiers saw in him (Jerome) a figure-head; he alone could succeed and beat Cavaignac. He had refused, saying that he was an invalid, Louis was young. Now, Louis had forgotten all this, and would not see his cousin Napoleon, who had taken up his defence. After having thus reproached the President, "the King of Westphalia paused a moment and then said: 'And do you know, Monsieur Victor Hugo, what he answered me? 'You will see.' Nobody can see inside that man.' This curious passage reminded me of an answer Louis Napoleon, then Emperor, is said to have made once to his cousin Napoleon, who had a violent temper, and who incessantly visited him with demands and reproaches: 'You have nothing, nothing of Napoleon.' 'I beg your pardon, I have his family.'"

Victor Hugo has interesting portraits distributed here and there in his "Choses Vues." To begin with the court of Louis Philippe, where he was so often received as a Peer of France, he says of the Duchess of Orleans:

"She is a rare woman, of great mind and great sense. I do not believe that she is completely appreciated at the Tuilleries. The King, however, holds her in high esteem and often converses very particularly with her. He often gives her his arm in the evening to take her from the family drawing-room to her apartment."

The Duchess, speaking to Victor Hugo of her son, the Count de Paris (February 26, 1844), said to him:

"My son is not what you call an amiable child. He is not one of those pretty little prodigies who do honor to their mother, and of whom one says, How witty! what grace! He has a good heart, I know; he has some wit, I believe; but nobody knows it and believes it except myself. He is timid, shy, silent, easily put out. What will he be? I don't know. Often, at his age, a child in his position understands that he ought to please, and begins, small as he is, to play a part. My child hides himself in my gown and looks down. Such as he is, I love him, and I even prefer him. I prefer a savage to a comedian."

The Count de Paris remained always of a grave and mild nature; his timidity diminished with age, without ever completely disappearing. He had a certain depth of thought and sentiment which was inherited from his mother. Victor Hugo tells amusing stories about the princes, especially about the Prince de Joinville, who was, in his youth, very boyish. "What annoys most these poor princes is to receive people and to speak to them ceremoniously. This obligation recurs nearly every day. They call it—for there is a language of princes—doing the function. The Duke de Montpensier is the only one who always does it with grace. One day the Duchess d'Orléans asked him why; he answered: 'It amuses me.' He is twenty years old [1847]." The Prince de Joinville was very early affected with deafness. "He loves France and all that touches her. As he cannot speak at his

ease, he becomes concentrated at times and bitter. However, he spoke more than once, and worthily. They did not listen to him or hear him. He asked me once: 'What are they saying about me? It is they who are deaf.' "The Prince has not, like the late lamented Duc d'Orléans, the princely coquetry which is such a victorious grace. He likes to please individuals." This is a very just remark on the part of Victor Hugo, as there never was any banality in the Prince de Joinville.

The judgments which Victor Hugo passed on the statesmen whom he knew are generally very severe. Royer-Collard seems to have inspired him with a respect he did not often feel. There is an interesting conversation with him reported verbatim (1843). Royer-Collard was a Legitimist; he had played a very great and honorable part in the Chambers of the Restoration, and did not serve the Government of July.

"But, sir," said Victor Hugo to him, "there was in the Revolution of July a foundation of right which you could not deny; you were not among those who could protest against it." "Neither did I," answered Royer-Collard. "I do not blame those who acted differently from me. Each man has his conscience, and in political matters there are many ways of being honest. People have the honesty which results from the light there is in them." After a moment of silence, Royer-Collard added: "Well! Charles X. also was honest. He was an honest king, and, whatever may have been said, he fell only by his own fault. Historians may arrange this as they like, but it is so. It was Charles X. who upset Charles X. People have said that he was badly advised. They have pretended that he consulted the Cardinal de la Fare, M. de Latil, M. de Polignac. . . . Would to heaven he had done so. . . . All those who surrounded the King, those who were called the courtiers, were wiser than he." And, after a moment of silence, he added, with the sad smile which he often wore during this conversation: "Wiser—that is to say, less mad."

It was the belief of Royer-Collard that Charles X. never really took advice. He was the same man in his old age that he was as Count d'Artois. The only quality which he praised in a man was immutability. He said often that since the Revolution there had been but two men, M. de La Fayette and himself. He esteemed La Fayette. Royer-Collard knew the King well, as he had always been a royalist. The King saw him from time to time, and always showed him much courtesy and kindness. It was Royer-Collard who had to take to the King the address of the Chamber which preceded the Revolution of 1830. "I might say," he said, "that on that day I read the Revolution in his eyes." The King read the answer which he had already prepared. He manifested no anger. The answer had been carefully worded and several times modified; but the King had made up his mind, and, three months afterwards, appeared the famous Ordinances which caused the Revolution.

In the chambers in which he sat—the House of Peers, the National Assembly of 1848—Victor Hugo amused himself by making sketches of his most important colleagues. These sketches sometimes border on caricatures, but are generally very true to life. He describes very well Odilon Barrot, the solemn and ponderous orator; M. Dufaure, with his provincial and nasal accent, "a mind so clear that it becomes at times luminous. . . . a slow and cold eloquence, but sure, solid, and calmly pushing difficulties aside. . . . M. Dufaure

is an honest and grave man, who has held power without greatness, . . . who has figured at the tribune without glamour, but with authority." Gen. Changarnier "has the look of an old academician, as Marshal Soult has the look of an old archbishop. . . . He has a long and dry body, a soft speech, a gracious and artificial air, a wig like Pasquier's, and a smile like Brifaut's. Withal, he is a determined man, bold, expeditious, but two-faced and dark." His portrait of Thiers is interesting:

"M. Thiers will treat men, ideas, and revolutionary events with parliamentary routine. He plays his old game of constitutional distinctions in the presence of an abyss and of the terrible uprisings of the chimerical and unexpected. He does not understand the transformation of everything; he sees some resemblance between the times in which we are and the times when he governed, and that is enough for him. These resemblances in fact exist, but there is something colossal and monstrous mixed up with them. M. Thiers does not suspect it and goes his way. He has spent his life in caressing cats and taming them with all sorts of feline manners. Now he wants to continue, and he does not perceive that the beasts have grown enormously, and that what he has now about him are tigers. A singular spectacle, this little man trying to caress with his little hand the roaring head of a revolution."

This was written after 1848; perhaps Hugo would have written a little differently in 1871, after the Commune. The portrait ends with these severe lines: "I have always felt for this celebrated statesman, this eminent orator, this mediocre writer, this narrow and small heart, an indescribable sentiment of admiration, aversion, and contempt."

There is a charming conversation between Victor Hugo and Béranger, in November, 1847. Béranger compliments Hugo on being able to dominate his popularity; he is himself the slave of his own popularity.

"What a slavery! You know, their reform banquets [it was the time of the agitation for electoral reform] bore me to death. I make excuses, so as not to go: 'I am old, I have a poor digestion, I don't dine out any more, I cannot travel,' etc. 'You owe it to us! A man like you must give us this pledge,' etc. And I must put on a good face, and smile. You know, it is simply the life of the old court buffoon. To amuse the Prince, to amuse the people, is the same thing. What difference is there between the poet who follows the court and the poet who follows the crowd? Marot in the sixteenth century, Béranger in the nineteenth century. . . . I hate popularity."

While talking thus, they arrived at the Rue Mazarine, at the door of the Institute, where Hugo was going. It was Academy day. "'Are you going in?' said Hugo. 'Oh, no, not that. That is for you,' and he went rapidly away."

The account which Victor Hugo gives of his last visit to the dying Balzac is very graphic and touching; but 'Choses Vues' is full of such fragments and impressions, scattered in the two volumes in a curious disorder. The vistas which Hugo opens here and there on the theatrical world are not the least interesting; he takes us behind the scenes, and shows us Mademoiselle Mars (who first played the part of *Doña Sol* in 'Hernani'), Rachel, Mademoiselle Georges, in their real life, away from the stage.

The volume which has just appeared ends with a long list of all the people with whom Hugo came in contact, high and low, great and small.

"I have sometimes had in my hand the white and gloved hand which is above and the large black hand which is below, and I

have recognized that there is but *one* man. After all this passed before me, I perceived that Humanity has a synonymous word, Equality, and that there is under heaven one thing only before which we ought to bow, namely, genius; and one thing before which we ought to kneel, namely, goodness."

Correspondence.

A PROPHECY RECALLED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You may recollect how, in February of this year, I objected to your remark that Mr. McKinley was doing this or that to catch "delegates," upon the ground that his nomination in 1900 was already a foregone conclusion; and my additional remark that his reflection was also certain, because the Democrats could not get rid of either Bryan or of free silver. As to the nomination of the two old candidates I suppose there is now no doubt in anybody's mind, and there should be just as little of McKinley's success. It is idle to speculate about the meaning of the vote for Nash, Jones, and McLean in Ohio, for there is the rest of the Republican ticket, below the Governor, which won, if by a small, yet by a substantive, majority. Whatever opposition to the President's policy in the Philippines has been developed must collapse when the war is ended, as it substantially is now; for the American loss in blood and treasure was the main ground of that opposition, not the wrong done to the Filipinos. The Democrats have recovered only one of the McKinley States of 1896, namely, Maryland, and that only by putting up three pronounced gold-standard men as their candidates, among them the (to the Bryan crowd) unspeakable Isidore Rayner. On national issues Maryland is still good for a Republican majority of thirty thousand. Kentucky may fall into the Bryan column; but the twenty-one electors of Kansas, South Dakota, Wyoming, and Washington are a good set-off. Times are flush; that means success to the party in power.

As I said in February, all questions before the American people should be weighed and discussed in the light of McKinley's certainty of success next November, as far as there can be any certainty in political events eleven months off.

Respectfully,

L. N. D.

LOUISVILLE, KY., December 8, 1899.

WHY CALLED ECUMENICAL?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Early in the summer each member of the American Board's European Turkey Mission received a circular letter addressing him as "Dear Friend," and inviting him to attend the "Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions," to be held in New York next April. The mission was also urged to make a good showing in the Missionary Exhibit, and one of its members was appointed to take the responsibility of preparing its contribution thereto.

But, a few days ago, this member received the following communication, dated September 2:

"Since writing you requesting cooperation in connection with the Missionary Exhibit, I learn that the General Committee of the Conference have decided that work done in Europe is not to be represented at the com-

ing Conference, either on the platform or in the Missionary Exhibit. Hence I will not trouble you to aid us as formerly requested."

The foregoing implies that members of the European Turkey Mission will have the same standing in the Conference as citizens of New York or Boston—who are not Secretaries of Mission Boards. Aside from the obvious inference that European Turkey is as highly Christianized as the respected communities mentioned, it will be interesting to trace out some other logical results of the General Committee's decision.

Aside from its other work, the European Turkey Mission is trying to do something for Albania, the country along the east shore of the Adriatic. This is one of the wildest and most uncivilized countries in the world. It can hardly be said to have a literature, while it is practically impossible to-day to obtain permission from the Government to print Albanian books. The first school for girls ever conducted in the Albanian vernacular was opened by our mission, while the only boys' school in the same vernacular (opened by the people because of having our school behind which to hide it) has just been closed by the Governor-General of the district. Were I a Japanese, a Hindu, or a Chinese, it would give me "de dry grins" to have my nation rated behind the Albanians in education, where the managers of the Conference seem to place it.

Again, I am confident that the gentlemen of the General Committee would travel much more safely through almost any part of China, Japan, or Zululand than they would through the heart of Albania. Recently I was speaking of bicycles with a wealthy Albanian. Said he: "What good would a bicycle do me? I couldn't ride it with my rifle on my shoulder and one hand on my revolver!" He added that on arriving at Monastir—the terminus of the railway—he should telegraph to his home at El Bassan, and a band of fifteen armed retainers would come out on the road two days' journey to meet and escort him home. The great natural abilities of the Albanians, falling of development in legitimate channels, find vent in feuds, lawlessness, and bloodshed. Two days since, a friend mentioned a good-sized Albanian city which he said no foreign consul has ever visited, because none could go there without a guard of from seventy to one hundred soldiers. Is there any such city in Japan? Why, then, should the more civilized country be represented in the Conference as a mission field, and the less civilized country shut out? Because the latter, forsooth, is in Europe!

The *reductio ad absurdum* of the Committee's position appears in Constantinople. The American College for Girls may be represented in the conference because it is in Asia, while Robert College may not because it is in Europe. A missionary to the Armenians in Scutari has a standing in the Conference, while one to the Armenians of old Stambul has not. Dr. Greene, if present, may speak of the work which he does on the Asiatic side, but must not mention that which he does in Pera!

The dictionaries define "ecumenical" as "general, universal, pertaining to the habitable world." May one venture to ask, then, in what sense the coming Conference will be ecumenical? Says the circular: "The Secretaries extend a cordial invitation to all

the Protestant missionaries to unevangelized peoples." Evidently the Roman and Eastern churches are not included, and the Conference will not be œcumenical in the sense of embracing all who bear the name of Christians. Naturally, one would conclude, then, that the intention is to make it *Protestantly* œcumenical. But no, the Protestant missions to the unevangelized peoples of European Turkey, Bulgaria, Austria, Spain, etc., are ruled out. This is bewildering to the plain man who has been accustomed to accept as authoritative the definitions of the leading dictionaries, and makes him wonder whether the managers of the Conference have not lost the jewel consistency down some knot-hole.

It is not hard to find a reason for the Committee's decision to exclude all work done in Europe. It would be highly incongruous to have represented as mission-fields staunch Protestant countries like Denmark and Sweden, by admitting to the Conference those who are engaged in persuading the people of such countries to leave the Lutheran or other Protestant churches for the Methodist, Baptist, etc. But even the Chinese long since discovered that it is not necessary to burn down your hut to roast your pig. The object could easily have been attained by ruling out of the Conference all work done in communities commonly known as Protestant. This would have been consistent, and would have made the Conference œcumenical as touches the Protestant world.

The members of the General Committee are intelligent men who understand the use of words. Honesty requires of them either to make their Conference œcumenical in the widest and real sense by inviting the Roman and Greek churches to participate, or to make it œcumenical in the sense of embracing all Protestant missions in non-Protestant lands, or to drop the high-sounding misnomer which they have selected for the proposed gathering. Is it necessary to crown all the shams of the century with a sham-œcumenical conference on foreign missions?

Very respectfully yours,

EDWARD B. HASKELL,
Missionary of the American Board.

SALONICA, EUROPEAN TURKEY,
October 11, 1899.

THE -ING SUFFIX IN ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your review of Round's 'Commune of London' a statement is made which needs a slight modification. The reviewer says:

"In all the discussion which has raged around the English 'village community' and manor, no doubt has ever been cast on the assertion of Kemble that *-ing* in English place-names had a 'patronymic' significance."

From this the reader would infer that, up to the present time, scholars have not hesitated "to deduce a clan settlement" from every *-ing* suffix and to accept without question Kemble's lists. This is far from true. Prof. Earle, in his 'Land Charters and Saxon Documents,' page 454, called attention eleven years ago to the fact that the patronymic use of *-ing* was only one special application of a form that differed little in its original sense from a genitive case. In

1889 Mr. W. H. Stevenson, in reviewing Prof. Earle's work, went much further:

"Kemble's *gā* delusion," he says, "naturally brings to mind another of his extravagances—the list of local names in *-ing* supposed to record tribal settlements. He was well aware that this suffix had other meanings besides the patronymic, but this did not suggest to him any caution. Prof. Earle has done good service by pointing out in his notes that *-ing* is sometimes merely the equivalent of the genitive singular. It has in some cases merely a possessive signification even where used in the genitive plural form *-inga*, whilst in other cases it is merely a pet or diminutive suffix to a personal name." (*English Historical Review*, April, 1889, p. 356.)

Your reviewer is doubtless quite aware of this expression of doubt, but I do not think that the average reader would infer it from his words. The truth is that no student of this subject to-day pretends to accept all Kemble's place-names as representing clan or kin settlements. I do not understand that Mr. Round has done more than eliminate from the lists a large number of names which mean something else. The important point is, that he has still left many genuine *-ings*, and this fact is sufficient, even without other evidence, to warrant the assumption that in the main the land was settled by communities. No one in recent years, who has had a theory on the subject, has, however, failed to leave plenty of room for war-bands, and chieftains, and individual allotments. Prof. Maitland expressed himself very cautiously, but conclusively, when he said two years ago, in 'Domesday Book and Beyond,' "Originally, the men who settle down in a village are likely to be kinsmen. Some phrases in the Continental folk laws, and some perhaps of our English place-names, point in this direction" (p. 349). What Mr. Round has discovered will not modify this opinion.

We are in this, as in so many other particulars, greatly indebted to Mr. Round for reaching a more certain conclusion where hitherto there has been only doubt; but the point upon which I would lay stress is, that the doubt has existed before. Your reviewer has given, unconsciously it may be, that slight twist to his comment and quotation which has made his statements to the uninformed not a little misleading.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

BYRN MAWR COLLEGE, December 2, 1899.

GOETHE TRANSLATIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Prof. Kuno Francke of Harvard, in his interesting article in the November *Atlantic* upon "Goethe's Message to America," quotes Goethe's poem, "Eins und Alles," and adds, in a footnote: "So far as I know, this wonderful poem has never been translated into English; and it seems indeed untranslatable." In that important early work, "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature," edited by George Ripley, the third volume was entitled 'Select Minor Poems, translated from the German of Goethe and Schiller. With Notes by John S. Dwight' (Boston. 1829). This book contains ten of the most striking poems from the rubric "Gott und Welt," and includes the above poem. They were all translated by John S. Dwight except "Dauer im Wechsel," which was rendered by N. L. Frothingham, and "Urworte: Orphisch," by James Freeman Clarke. The translation seems to me made

with rare felicity. The whole cycle is profoundly significant of Goethe's view of nature, and shows the influence of the philosophy of both Schelling and Spinoza upon him.

The entire volume of these early translations is of great interest, and contains contributions, in addition to those above mentioned, by George Bancroft, William H. Channing, Frederic H. Hedge, S. M. Fuller, G. W. Haven, Charles T. Brooks, and C. P. Cranch. A monograph upon the relation of New England thought to German literature and philosophy at this period would be of great value.

W. T. HEWETT.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, December 2, 1899.

BEGET IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLISH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Sidney Lee, in his recently published biography of Shakspeare, discusses in appendix v., p. 390, the relation of Thomas Thorpe and "W. H." to the first edition of Shakspeare's Sonnets. He recapitulates in substance a theory that has long been held by careful Shakspeare scholars in regard to the identity of the mysterious "W. H.," along with some fresh and interesting details about Thomas Thorpe's publishing career. He explains Thorpe's use of the word "begetter" in the phrase, "the onlie begetter of the ensuing sonnets," as being due to a habit of grandiloquence which led the publisher to use the word with an artificial sense of "obtain," "acquire," though he says later that the word is not unfrequently employed in Elizabethan English in this attenuated sense (it is really the original sense of the word), and adds a quotation from Dekker's "Satiro-Mastix." If the reader will turn to the words *beget* and *begetter* in the New English Dictionary, he will see that though this meaning of "obtain," "acquire" is there set down for the words, the illustrative quotations are not entirely convincing. Shakspeare's "acquire and beget a temperance," in "Hamlet," III., ii., 8, would point to the fact that *beget* had some different meaning from that of the *acquire* already used by *Hamlet*, and probably referred to some effect which the actor was to produce on his audience. The other quotations are even less convincing; the last one under *begetter*, from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, being obviously a mere imitation of the Shaksperian quotation. But the assumption that Thorpe did not use the word "in an exact sense" to explain the relation in which "W. H." stood to the Sonnets is entirely unnecessary, for the quotations given by the New English Dictionary confuse two distinct usages of this word *beget* in Elizabethan English.

First, as to *begetter*—"obtainer," "procurer." In Sewel's 'Dutch and English Dictionary' (I quote from the second edition, Amsterdam, 1708), p. 41 of the first part, we have *beget* glossed not only by *teelen*, *coortbrengen*, but also by *gecinnen*, *verkrygen* (*verkrygen* in the second part is glossed "obtain," "get," "acquire," and *gecinnen* is there glossed "gain," "get"); *begetter* is glossed not only by *cen Teeler*, *aanteeler*, *coortteeler*, but also by *verkryger*, which is the sense Thorpe used it in. Similarly, *begetting* is glossed *verkryging*. He *begot* is glossed by *gewaen* (i. e., he acquired), and *begotten* is glossed by *gewonnen* (acquired) and *verkreegen* (obtained).

In 'Skinner's 'Etymologicon Lingue An-

glicanæ,' 1671, after *beget* stands the gloss *obtinere*. In the Cambridge 'Phraseologia Generalis' (1681) we have "beget or procure" glossed *parere, parare*. These references show clearly, coming, as they do, from independent sources, that *beget* and *begetter* in the seventeenth century were commonly used in the sense of "acquire," "obtain," "procure." Thorpe, therefore, in the phrase "onlie begetter" is using a natural and ordinary form of expression, and not a figurative or stilted one.

Beget has another shade of meaning which has not, I think, been sharply defined by the New English Dictionary. The Cambridge Phrase Book, just cited, has a number of quotations to illustrate *beget* in the sense of *conciliare*. These will throw light on some of the theological quotations in the Dictionary, and aptly explain *Hamlet's* usage of the word as well as our modern usage of it in the idiom "to beget confidence." In the Phrase-Book we have: "To beget, procure, or make friendship; *conciliare amicitiam*; to beget or procure men's favour, and good liking to ones self, *conciliare sibi animos hominum*; . . . to beget or procure credit, favour, etc., to himself, *conciliare fidem, gratiam, &c., sibi*; . . . to beget or procure peace amongst any, *conciliare pacem inter aliquos*; to beget or procure sleep, rest, &c., *conciliare somnum, quietem, &c.*"

Reading this *conciliare* meaning into *Hamlet's* advice to the players, we have a deeper and more far-reaching principle of dramatic art than that the usual interpretation of his words gives us: "Wrest the intensity of your passion into a self-control that will win over your audience to share your power, and thus give the strength of your acting smoothness—the ease of strong power."

MARK H. LIDDELL.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, November 25, 1899.

Notes.

'Sir Walter Scott,' a new biography, by James Hay, is in the press of A. S. Barnes & Co.

E. P. Dutton & Co. will publish immediately 'Lewis Carroll and the Real Alice in Wonderland,' personal reminiscences by Miss Isa Bowman.

Elder & Shepard, San Francisco, announce for this week 'Moods, and Other Verses,' by Dr. Edward Robinson Taylor, translator of the Sonnets of Hérédia.

We learn that Siebert's 'Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom' (Macmillan) has already reached a second edition.

Resuming our notice of reprints, we have to tell of John H. Ingram's edition of Poe's Works in four volumes (London: Black; New York: Macmillan), now brought out as a "Standard Edition." The books are beautifully printed and well adapted for the hand, and the blue cloth binding is tastefully stamped. Mr. Ingram's prefatory memoir is still open to animadversion, especially since the publication of the Griswold Letters; but no one need ask for a better presentation of the writings themselves, quite apart from the very moderate price. From the same cis-Atlantic house we have Mr. Marion Crawford's 'Saracinesca,' in two volumes of elegant typography, with

illustrations by Mr. Orson Lowell, in which the novelist must be deemed equally fortunate. Both the wash and the pen-drawings are skilful and decorative, and much thought has evidently gone into them. Mr. Crawford, in a new preface, tells us that the exclusive world of 'Saracinesca' has been already invaded by the march of modern ideas and events, and has mingled with the majority, so that he is inclined to recommend his pages as much for the history as for the human interest contained in them. The Siddal Edition of Dante G. Rossetti's works, charming little volumes, proceeds with his early and late product, the translation of Dante's 'New Life,' of which the verse is a standing test of Rossetti's theory of translation, as it more than once involves the rendering of the simple by the obscure (London: Ellis & Elvey). As usual, his brother furnishes a prefatory note, and a graceful frontispiece is from the brush of Arthur Ellis. Herbert Cole supplies the pretext for another issue of 'Gulliver's Travels' (John Lane), and is to be praised for the general quality of his designs; but, as is often witnessed in the case of pen-and-ink draughtsmen, his smaller drawings—vignettes, head and tail-pieces—are much superior to the larger, in which, strange to say, he often omits the scale (e. g., in depicting individual Lilliputians). As a whole, however, Mr. Cole has kept his embellishments in harmony with the old-style typography, and the result is a very pretty book. Harmonious, too, are the adornments of the luxurious edition of Mr. Hamilton W. Mable's 'My Study Fire' (Dodd, Mead & Co.); but here, to our thinking, the two ladies, Maude Alice and Genevieve Cowles, who designed them have succeeded better in the larger series—character sketches, interior groups, landscapes. They are all praiseworthy, however, and can but be acceptable to Mr. Mable's admirers.

Miss Larned's 'Historic Gleanings in Windham County, Conn.' (Providence, R. I.: Preston & Rounds Co.) is, as might have been expected of the historian of that county, a substantial addition to knowledge. If the characters here celebrated are minor and subordinate, one at least, Major James Fitch, cut no inconsiderable swath in his day, and, somewhat as an equal, engaged the attention of the colonial Legislatures of both Connecticut and Massachusetts. The Rev. Joseph Howe, another well-forgotten name, made his mark in college instruction and in pulpit eloquence, and his too brief career is deservedly remembered. The chapter, "A Life's Record," is a noticeably artistic handling of a typical Connecticut Yankee diary, 1777-1843. Miss Larned's humor is at its best in this case, and has easy play by virtue of her familiarity with the annals and the genealogy of her especial province.

A neighboring antiquarian, Mr. John Osborne Austin of Providence, author of the remarkable 'Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island,' puts forth, in a volume of modest dimensions, 'The Journal of William Jefferay, Gentleman' (Providence: The Author). This is an original and really ingenious imagining of "a diary that might have been," based on the materials at hand in the Dictionary just named. The diarist is an actual personage, whose gravestone may be seen in the old cemetery at Newport, and he is depicted to the life by Mr. Austin, both individually and as a part of the

(chiefly Rhode Island) community, from 1623 to 1675. Some of the entries are purely genealogical, others convey the leading historical incidents of the colony, as may be seen in the index under the rubric "Massachusetts oppressions"; for variety's sake, some excursions by land and water are invented, and the food, the occupations, and manners and customs of the people are shown in a natural fashion. The stories told at the Seven Club are the least effective of Mr. Austin's diversions. His experiment is much to be commended.

'Personal Reminiscences of the Anti-Slavery and Other Reforms and Reformers,' by the late Aaron M. Powell (Plainfield, N. J.: Anna Rice Powell) is an unfinished fragment of autobiography, whose chief interest lies in the simple story of the author's enlistment in the abolition cause. He took the field as a lecture agent in 1854; had his share of being mobbed, notably at Syracuse in January, 1861, a ticklish period for the abolitionists everywhere; was present at the hoisting of the flag over Fort Sumter in April, 1865. On the division of the abolitionists in that year over a continuance of the organization, he sided with Wendell Phillips and the pros, and was made editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. His subsequent reformatory labors were mainly in behalf of temperance; but prisons and peace and social purity also largely occupied him, and drew him many times across the Atlantic as delegate to congresses. His reminiscences add but little to our knowledge of his eminent coadjutors. He reports the mild-mannered Stephen Foster, who had a genius for getting into hot water, as contending "that he really had very small combativeness, but that what he had was very active." After hearing Gladstone, John Bright, John Morley, and Lord Rosebery speak, Mr. Powell still gave the palm for oratory to Mr. Phillips. Lucretia Mott, at her hospitable board, he shows, during the period of the dessert, relieving her maids by drying with her own hands the plates of the earlier courses which had been removed and washed; "meanwhile bearing her full share with her guests in the most engaging table-talk." Numerous portraits and facsimiles further make this volume a useful contribution to anti-slavery literature, as well as a memorial of a most excellent man.

'Famous Actresses of the Day in America' (Boston: L. C. Page & Co.), a series of sketches by Lewis C. Strang, differs from the general run of books of the character in being well written, but resembles them in being prepared chiefly for theatrical consumption. The biographical part of it, apparently, has been compiled with considerable care, and has been verified, it is said, in many cases by reference to the subjects themselves; but the critical opinions, both those which are original and those which are culled from various sources, are, in the vast majority of cases, far too complimentary to inspire confidence. It will be surprising to most persons familiar with the present condition of the stage to hear that no less than thirty-one of our actresses are "famous." The deficiency in the sense of proportion which permitted the use of this word in the title, is apparent in almost all the notices. The fact is, that Mr. Strang has ascribed fame to almost every actress who has ever had

her name printed in large letters upon a theatrical poster, and to some others of whose very existence the average New York playgoer is probably still in ignorance. That he has been able to quote glowing eulogies about all of them is a melancholy demonstration of the true value of current journalistic criticism. Some of the praise is "craftily qualified," as *Cassio* says, with adverse comment, but not sufficiently so to destroy the pleasant flavor of adulation. As to the proportion observed, it may be stated that more space is devoted to Mrs. Fiske than to Ada Rehan or Helena Modjeska. The book, however, is agreeable in style, and is illustrated plentifully with attractive photographs.

The second volume of the publications of the Alabama Historical Society (Carrollton, Ala.) is one more evidence of an awakening of historical studies in the South. Monographs on the early roads, on the beginnings of public education, and on war incidents are interesting, but the most valuable parts of the volume are the statistical tables, prepared by the secretary of the Society, Mr. Thomas M. Owen. Among these are a list of the sessions of the General Assembly, statistics of each county, and bibliographical notes at the end of each article. Tatum's topographical notes on the Alabama River, made in 1814, are also of high interest, and are now published for the first time.

Mr. T. A. Coghlan, the well-known statistician of New South Wales, has prepared a monograph on child-birth in that colony. While much of it merely confirms the experience of other countries, there is established an actual decline in the birth-rate within the last twenty years. In a new community this is not the rule, and Mr. Coghlan sees important effects for the colony. "Taking Australia as a whole, and including New Zealand, the fall in the birth-rate is such that there are 47,000 births less than would have occurred under the rates prevailing as late as ten years ago." New Zealand complains that there are not enough children to fill the schools, and the same condition is to be found in Victoria, as the number of children under ten years of age is less than in 1891. The law formulated by Galton, on material supplied by Körösi, governing the number of parents to whom children will be born during a year after marriage, is disproved by the Australian statistics. It is possible that Mr. Coghlan's conclusions may be modified by fuller statistics, covering a longer period of time, but he has made a very suggestive study of the material at his command. The essay is issued through the Government Printer at Sydney.

The returns of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom for 1898 have been published, and the form of five years' figures has been retained by Mr. Pittar. This makes it possible to see at a glance the changes in quantity or direction of trade in any one article, and makes the volume a veritable encyclopædia of the world's commerce. Another feature may be noted, viz., that these figures have never been under suspicion, as the Board of Trade has not for a half-century been manipulated in favor of any commercial theory or political policy. We wish we could say as much for our Treasury Bureau of Statistics.

The expedition of Mr. H. J. Mackinder of Oxford to Mount Kenya, in East Africa,

adds materially to our knowledge of this interesting region. It consisted of six Europeans, including two Alpine guides, a natural-history collector, and a taxidermist, and its scientific results are a large number of observations on the topography of the region, the discovery of ten new glaciers (making fifteen in all), large and representative collections of the fauna and flora, as well as geological specimens. In an interview recorded in the *London Times* the leader describes the Meranga country through which he passed as an "informal republic. There are no chiefs or kings, and the government is in the hands of a Shauri, or council of elders, of whom there are about fifty. Two or three of the elders are recognized as leaders. . . . Practically the whole country was under cultivation. There were large banana plantations on all the shambas, and hundreds of acres were under maize, while sweet potatoes, beans, and sugar-cane grew in abundance. . . . The roads were good, and in some places were actually fenced, wearing in places the aspect of an English country lane, with the addition of tropical plants and flowers." The present accessibility of the interior of East Africa is illustrated by the fact that the expedition left England on June 8, and the return journey, after the successful ascent of the mountain, was begun on September 21, and Mr. Mackinder was in London on October 30, twenty-eight days after reaching the Uganda railway.

Macmillan Company will issue on January 1 a new magazine, the *International Monthly*, the first number containing articles by Edouard Rod, Prof. N. S. Shaler, Prof. J. T. Trowbridge, Norman Hapgood, and Charles de Kay.

The *Century Magazine* promises copious extracts from the entire journal of Dr. O'Meara at St. Helena, only partly drawn upon for his account of Napoleon in captivity.

The *Paris Temps*, referring to a recent important auction sale in Munich, finds new proof of the growing prosperity of Germany in the flourishing condition of the market for works of art in that country. The sale in question is that of the private collection of the late Dr. Martin Schubart, consisting of valuable paintings and various other rare objects of art. (We called attention to this interesting collection in a note of August 4, 1898, little expecting that it would so soon be brought under the auctioneer's hammer.) From the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* we learn that one of the finest canvases, Hobbema's "Water Mill," was bought for the Dresden Gallery for 86,000 marks, while Rubens's "Diana Bathing" was knocked down to J. Böhler of Munich for 126,000 marks, Metsu's "Lady and Gentleman at the Spinnet" and Gerard Douw's "Housekeeper" to Sedelmayer of Paris at 45,000 and 37,000 marks, respectively, and Rembrandt's "Portrait of an Old Man" to Colnaghi of London at 31,000 marks; the latter also buying two portraits by Amberger (of Augsburg) for 51,000 marks. More than fifty collectors, dealers, and directors of galleries from without having been attracted by the auction, the bidding was lively throughout the sale. But the majority of buyers were Germans, and the *Temps* accounts for the good prices obtained, even for second and third-rate objects, by the increasing number, in Germany, of amateurs of moderate means, a class not existing in France.

—The growth of patriotic societies in this country is shown by the portentous size of the Year-Book of the Sons of the Revolution in New York, a quarto volume of nearly 700 pages. Composed as it is of lists of members, and of ancestors and descendants, the general impression left is one of self-glorification. The claims for consideration are often so slight as to be grotesque, and the wish to make much out of little and magnify the services of all whom accident involved in the Revolution is too manifest to be pleasant. Some short and rather perfunctory biographies are given as samples of an intended series, but they make indifferent reading, and are neither history nor biography. Why do not the Sons aid the Historical Society to publish the Revolutionary manuscripts deposited in its store? That would be serviceable, and would reduce some of the pretensions so loudly made. In reading over the long list of privates and non-commissioned officers mentioned in the Year-Book, some names are found whose owners did not figure very creditably in the service. The punishment of 500 lashes or less, and dismissal from the army, were frequently given to offenders. Then, too, how few really know about their ancestors. Read Washington's opinions of his general officers, and bear in mind that he was cool and just in his judgments. There were many fine characters and reputations in the army, but to claim preëminence for all is carrying the matter to an extreme.

—Of like description is the report of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1890-97, printed at Government expense, and containing many illustrations of plates and monuments raised by the Society. It was a bit of favoritism which saddled the printing of these reports on the country, and the Daughters are not backward in advertising their claims to recognition. To preserve interesting buildings is laudable, and private effort can do this better than the Government of a State or of the nation. The old redoubt at Fort Pitt was certainly worth preserving, and the monument to Mary Washington was a fitting expression of the regard for historic characters. Lesser events and places are commemorated by tablets placed on houses or sunk in stones. And in placing these, the different societies have shown little discrimination. The very profusion is bewildering, and every house and rock of any age or weight promises to have a tablet. Nor is this the only form of activity. Prizes are offered for historical essays; pilgrimages are made to historic spots. "Each chapter possesses a gavel made of some historic material. Almost all have their charters framed in woods connected with some famous event. Many have made the exhibition of historic heirlooms a specially instructive part of their work," and so on. The old-time historian, who verified his facts, will be overwhelmed with the mass of legend, tradition, and curios gathered by the Daughters, and it will be difficult to sift what is offered. The Daughters and Sons cannot do better than to follow the excellent example set by the Colonial Dames, who are raising the best of mementos by publishing the Letters to Washington written during the colonial period.

—Prof. William MacDonald's "Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History" (Macmillan) seems to take its title from the Bishop of Oxford's

celebrated collection of English constitutional documents. American history, of course, affords ample material for a volume similar in scope to that of Dr. Stubbs, although his handbook ends at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Among points of difference between Prof. MacDonald's manner of editing and that which his predecessor pursued, the following ones may be mentioned. Prof. MacDonald writes no general introduction, his prefaces are briefer than those which Stubbs supplied, and in connection with each passage he gives a paragraph of bibliographical references. The period covered is 1606-1775, the series beginning with the first charter of Virginia and ending with the Prohibitory Act. One would expect to find in such a book as this many pieces taken from the seventeenth century, when all the most important colonies gained constitutional status, and so it is. For the period which lies before the peace of Ryswick, Prof. MacDonald is much more detailed than for the years 1697-1763. He gives eighty documents in all, and of these only eight are allotted to the sixty-six years which we have last indicated. Indeed, he almost scampers from the Peace of Ryswick to the end of the Seven Years' War. With the Peace of Paris he again becomes detailed, and traces distinctly each principal stage of the rupture between the colonies and the mother country. Twenty-six documents relating to the last twelve years of the colonial era do not, however, constitute an undue proportion when one considers the interests at stake. Prof. MacDonald shows good judgment in his selections, and his book should materially assist the teaching of American history in colleges which are unfortunate enough to lack large libraries. More than this, it will be a great convenience everywhere.

—Historians and heralds have long puzzled over the meaning of FERT, the motto of the House of Savoy. When Amadeus VI., the Green Count, founded the Order of the Most Holy Annunciation, in 1362, he gave this motto to it, and the mysterious word still appears, separating pairs of true-lover's knots, on the collar of that order. We say "word," but as the form F. E. R. T. was early used, it came to be taken for granted that the four letters were the initials of four words. Accordingly, various phrases have been suggested. *Fortitudo Ejus Rhodum Tenuit* (His fortitude held Rhodes) had many upholders; but when it was discovered that the defence of Rhodes against the Turks by Amadeus V. occurred in 1315, whereas the motto is found on the tomb of Thomas I., who died in 1233, they were silenced. Of another guess, *Federe Et Religione Tenemur* (We are bound by covenant and religion), which appears as the legend of a comparatively late coin, we may remark that it seems too evidently an attempt to invent a phrase whose initials should compose the required word. *Frappez, Entrez, Rompez Tout*, a version popular in Savoy, describes the bold methods of the Counts in acquiring new possessions, but is neither philologically nor historically possible. During the middle of this century, when Italy was struggling for her independence, patriots gave the motto a prophetic significance by assuming that the letters stood for *Fiat Emanuel Rex Tuus*. Such are some of the more or less fanciful solutions. Now we learn from the Milan *Perseveranza* of November 3 that Count Massimino di

Ceva has published a monograph in which he reads the riddle in a new fashion. It was not uncommon, he says, for the first word of a well-known line or sentence to serve as the motto of a noble house: *Exegi*, for example, is so used, instead of the whole phrase, *Exegi Monumentum Aere Perennius*. With this clue, let us seek a line in which FERT is the keyword. Knowing that Virgil was the most quoted author in mediæval times, we turn to the 'Æneid,' and quickly come on the passage:

"Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus
FERTque refertque soror: sed nullis ille
movetur
Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit" (iv., 437-439).

—This is ingenious, but ingenuity should go on and show, if it could, how this quotation applies to a Count of Savoy of the thirteenth century, or earlier. What has the description of Dido's sister, carrying again and again to stony-hearted Æneas the story of Dido's woe, what has this to do with Count Thomas or his predecessors? We are told that other families—the French Bussay, the Spanish Agreda—have this very motto, and that a Spanish town has it; but we fail to see that these facts are conclusive. Neither is the further statement that, for the marriage of Charles Emanuel I. with Catherine of Spain, in 1590, a medal was struck, on which appears the longer quotation, FERTQUE REFERTQUE. We do not feel, therefore, that Count di Ceva's solution is final. We believe, rather, that in these matters the simplest interpretation is the likeliest; and that it is more probable that a warrior noble of 1230 chose FERT for its common meaning, "He bears" or "He endures"—a soldierly motto—than for any intricate allusion bound up in it. In any case, it is interesting that the oldest reigning House in Europe should have forgotten for six centuries what its watchword means—a striking instance of the way in which tradition may be interrupted.

—The seventh volume of the "Versailles Historical Series" (Boston: Hardy, Pratt & Co.) consists of selections from the correspondence of the Princess Palatine, the Duchess of Burgundy, and Mme. de Maintenon, arranged and translated by the editor. Very judicious care is shown in the choice of extracts, for the purpose of presenting to their readers the salient traits of character and disposition in these three contemporaries of exalted birth or station, and likewise of illustrating the points discussed in Sainte-Beuve's prefatory essays to each division. The portraits thus offer an interesting and piquant contrast. Madame, Princess Palatine, and mother of the Regent, appears in these pages perfectly undisguised, outspoken even to violence in her expression of private hatred and race prejudice, and, perhaps because of this very arrogance of her rank, better fitted to receive the adulation of a *Resident* than to play a strictly subordinate part in the throng of a splendid court. And yet it is amusing to note, in spite of this pride, the bourgeois element of her early training in her lifelong sighings after the somewhat substantial dishes of her native land, with corresponding contempt for the flimsy achievements of French cooks. The frankness of her speech, amounting in some cases to positive coarseness, is entirely in keeping with this materiality of

bodily habit, and is faithfully rendered by the translator. In the letters of the Duchess of Burgundy, little more can be found than the natural affection of a girl for her parents, with the flutterings of a very charming social butterfly. As for Mme. de Maintenon's correspondence, the specimens here given deal chiefly with her educational work at Saint Cyr, her private letters being for the most part restricted in this instance to a few confidential communications with Mme. de Glapion and the Princesse des Ursins, the latter of whom was evidently a cherished kindred spirit. The tone of imperious patronage which forms the running accompaniment of these epistles helps to explain the persistent, rancorous hatred expressed by the German Princess Palatine for the *parvenue* morganatic spouse of Louis XIV. If it was the editor's object to emphasize Mme. de Maintenon's love of domination, ill-concealed under her constant exhortations to modesty, that object has been completely attained. It must be added that throughout this volume Miss Wormeley's translations are both minutely accurate and freer from Gallicisms than in the preceding volumes of the series.

RHODES'S UNITED STATES.

History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850. By James Ford Rhodes. Vol. IV., 1862-1864. Harper & Brothers. 8vo, pp. xv, 557, with maps.

The two and a half years from the spring of 1862 to the reëlection of Lincoln in the autumn of 1864 measure the agonizing period of the civil war, when the belligerents were straining their strength to the utmost, and when other nations, watching the stubborn struggle, might be pardoned if their forecast of the result was in accordance with their interests and sympathies. The wrestlers often seemed to be in deadlock, with little apparent change of position or of chance, each stiffened into iron and grimly waiting for some indication of the other's exhaustion. The weeks and months passed in a monotony of indecisive military campaigns, and an equal monotony of legislative and executive activity in supplying the waste of war in blood and in treasure. Foreign policy was, on the one hand, a strenuous effort by the Davis Government to induce England and France to intervene, and on the other Mr. Lincoln's wise diplomacy to ward off or postpone such intervention. Everybody was waiting in painful suspense for some evidence of decisive superiority in the field which should be a basis of intelligent judgment as to the end.

This painful and troubled period Mr. Rhodes treats in his fourth volume, and as we are now familiar with his method of reconstructing each critical situation from a broad array of contemporaneous testimony, we find ourselves following with unflagging interest his strong synthesis of current facts, actions, and opinions, which make vivid the actual life of the time. We breathe the atmosphere of the period itself, and share the doubts, the fears, and the deep solicitude of the actors in it. We realize how hard it was to foresee consequences, and at how great a risk every decision of responsible leaders had to be made. We are charitable towards their doubts and their hesitation, and admire the faith and

courage that inspired their patient, unflinching efforts. The historian so well preserves his own balance of judicial calmness, and his full knowledge of all the facts which should temper and modify our judgment is so well at his command, that we easily yield to his interpretation of events even against our own predilections. Our consciousness of this effect upon ourselves goes far to make us believe that we have here something very near to what time will prove to be the accepted story of the nation's great struggle for self-preservation.

As everything turned upon military success, the campaigns of McClellan and Halleck, of Pope, Burnside, and Buell, of Meade, Rosecrans, and Grant, occupy us most, until the victories of Vicksburg and Missionary Ridge had developed a general-in-chief to whom the Administration and the country could commit the leadership of our armies, with a confident trust that there would be unrelenting activity and a steady progress towards a final triumph. When the period of experiment with generals not equal to the gigantic task is over, the historian feels that he may broaden his sketch of military affairs and give them much less space in the narrative.

An excellent analysis of the Peninsular campaign justifies Mr. Rhodes's conclusion that it "was a failure, and the chief cause of its failure may be ascribed to McClellan," who was proved to be "not equal to the position of Commander-in-Chief" (p. 49). Halleck's reputation for military knowledge and his successes in the West made him the natural, almost the inevitable, choice of the Administration for the general command. It was soon discovered, however, that he lacked the combative energy necessary to the command in the field, and he subsided into the position of Chief-of-Staff to the President and made it a bureau office in Washington.

The recall of the Army of the Potomac from Harrison's Landing on the James was ordered unwillingly, and Mr. Rhodes fairly states the case in saying that "the decision was a choice of evils made on the side of safety, a natural result of the balancing of chances, in which the poor promise of the future of McClellan's failures in the past outweighed the many disadvantages of his withdrawal" (p. 104). The vexed question of the removal of McClellan from command Mr. Rhodes finds hard of solution, but sums up its consideration by saying, "It is not surprising that he was relieved, but it is no less true that his removal was a mistake" (p. 188). It is almost impossible in such a case to avoid a judgment after the fact, and full weight is not given, perhaps, to the actual opinion of the ablest patriots then in public life. The judgment supported by the common assent of Mr. Lincoln, his Cabinet, the ablest Governors of States, and the leading Union men in the Senate and House of Representatives, cannot justly be said to be so contrary to sound reasons which were then within their reach that one may now affirm that they ought to have known better. The question was not whether McClellan could keep his army from destruction or rout after defeat, or maintain a cautious defence. The Union could not be restored in that way. The whole of McClellan's career made the authorities conclude that the cause would not triumph by his military leadership. To continue him in command was to give it up, and if it were to be given

up, the sooner the better, and less costly. They concluded that the only other way was to try a change, and keep trying till the fit leader was found. If they ought to have known that Burnside was unfit by reason of his lack of self-confidence, and Hooker by reason of his excess of it, why ought they not to have known McClellan's deficiencies also before he was tried? We are constantly brought back to the simple truth which all military history teaches, that for the highest qualities of generalship there is absolutely no sure test except actual trial in the field. Mr. Lincoln had to do what all other rulers have done, to take the most promising of subordinate rank for the chief place. His frank admission that he did so with great fears that the successors would not do better (which Mr. Rhodes quotes, p. 189), did not absolve him from acting, but was a necessary condition of action. And here, in the larger sense, the event proved him right, for the time and the man came at last.

Our author does justice to Mr. Lincoln's diligent study of the problem before him with the aid of theoretic books on the military art and of practical discussion with his military advisers. Such study, to his wonderfully clear intellect and practical sagacity, was so profitable that already, in the spring of 1863, he was "now the best of counsellors in the relation of the civil commander-in-chief to his officers of technical training and experience" (p. 271). The point was reached where officers in the field could feel that the President's judgment of their work was soundly critical and appreciative as well as discriminating. The process of selection went on more rapidly and surely. The capture of Vicksburg and the victory of Gettysburg marked the end of the period of doubt and the beginning of that rational hope, ripening into confidence, which was to grow into assurance in another year.

In the conduct of our foreign affairs during the critical period, the attitude of England was what gave most concern, and this was not because England was most disposed to be unfriendly, for she was not. France, already committed to the enterprise of establishing a monarchy in Mexico on the ruins of Juarez's republic, knew well that a humiliating retreat could be prevented only by the permanent disruption of our Union. Louis Napoleon was therefore the instigator of all hostile movements, constantly repeating his desire to intervene decisively in our conflict whenever England would consent to join him. This was so well understood that our State Department did not waste much effort in argument with the French Emperor. Seeing clearly that the true way to restrain France was to dissuade England from yielding to Napoleon's seductions, the diplomatic campaign was fought out in London with rare ability by Mr. Adams. It was a curious result of this, that the chafing with the more friendly of the two Powers was the more painful and irritating, because the more active controversy went on with her.

Even in the matter of the Confederate cruisers, the controversy over their building and fitting out was with England instead of France, though England was less willing to permit their construction. France offered much greater encouragement and even active coöperation. But French shipyards could not compete with the English

in the rapid and efficient construction of such ships, and so the Lairds took the contract, and the burden of maintaining the neutrality laws was upon the English Ministry.

Mr. Rhodes has had the very great advantage of access to Mr. Adams's MS. diary, and has thus been able to trace the course of the English Government and the ebb and flow of English sentiment with a clearness and fulness which would have been impossible without the use of so important an original document. This helps him to fix the exact date and the circumstances in which some of the most significant of Earl Russell's dispatches were written, and to throw a bright light upon the motives of the English Secretary and his colleagues. He has found it a grateful task to unravel the intricacies of a correspondence in which letters crossed each other on the way, and took thus a tinge of meaning which did not properly belong to them. We can go gladly and heartily with him when, in summing up the evidence, he reaches the conclusion "that Russell deserves applause for his methodical straightforwardness and his honest purpose in this affair [of the iron-clad rams], where action was hedged about with difficulties, owing to the evasion of the true ownership and to the force of the precedent made by the narrow and doubtful construction of the statute in the case of the *Alexandra*" (p. 381).

The escape of the *Alabama* had shown that something more than a leisurely and perfunctory enforcement of the neutrality laws was necessary if Great Britain was to escape responsibility for the destruction of American commerce, and Lord Russell was deeply chagrined at the evident lack of earnestness in the action of the law officers and others in that case. His seizure of the rams was in spite of the sympathies of subordinates and their wilful blindness to evidence. It was a vigorous assumption of responsibility on his part, all the more worthy of remembrance because Palmerston, the Prime Minister, was so open in his sympathy with the Confederate Government that he would have continued to shut his eyes to the peril in which he was putting the relations of the two countries. By the summer of 1864, however, all the English officials saw new light, and we had no more cause to complain of the inefficiency of their statutes. Mr. Rhodes's judicial quality is well shown in his reminder that a modern nation is the corporate constituency which elects its Legislature and practically chooses its Ministry. The wide enlargement of the franchise in England since our civil war has brought into political control classes other than those which governed the state in the sixties, and while those who then gave shape to English policy were hostile to our national cause, the new voters were almost unanimously friendly to us and now give the tone to British policy and governmental conduct.

"If there still remain an American Jingo who wishes to retaliate, when the bided time comes, for the depredations of the Confederate cruisers, the cynical ill-will of Palmerston, the speech of Gladstone, the leaders in the *Times* and the *Saturday Review*, he must remember that the England which arouses his indignation has passed away" (p. 360).

Our home politics depended, of course, upon the questions involved in the conduct of the war. The acknowledgment of the

independence of the Confederacy could not be made an open issue between parties, and the opposition was ostensibly based on criticism of the measures of the Administration. Within the Union party the most radical seemed to lead, and in the middle of his term Mr. Lincoln appeared to be almost without hearty support. It is a curious fact that among Congressmen, especially, there was no ability to see the practical wisdom and solid abilities which lay behind his awkward form and manners, and personal contempt for him may be said to have been the ruling fashion in Washington. His papers and public letters, full of shrewdest judgment and most taking argument, would seem to have been read by the people at large, but not by their representatives. Mr. Rhodes brings out the courage and the conservatism of his policy, his delays that were never timid but only a calculated waiting for the fit time to come, his refusal to allow his hand to be forced in the matter of emancipation, and his action at last in accordance with a deliberately fixed purpose. His methods of dealing with men were also peculiarly his own, whether he were dealing with Greeley as assumed spokesman for "twenty millions," or with Pendleton's committee protesting against Vallandigham's trial. He was very patient with his military officers so long as they kept persistently at work, and was unwearied in giving them the means of success. Inaction he deeply felt was certain ruin, and this he could not tolerate. Yet he did not supersede a dilatory general till he had given him fair warning and had tested his capacity for energetic initiative. The steadily growing activity of our armies was good proof of the advantage and the necessity for the unfaltering activity he asked of them, and the attendant successes completed the demonstration. The results were so far seen in 1864 that opposition to his renomination melted away, and the strength of his hold on the hearts of the people was such that even the names of Chase, Wade, and Davis proved vain to conjure with. He was reelected by an almost unanimous Electoral College, and by a popular vote large enough, as Mr. Rhodes reminds us, to give in Congress "the requisite majority of two-thirds for the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery" (p. 538).

On the vexed question of arbitrary arrests and the suspension of newspapers, our author takes strong ground, going so far in summing up as to conclude "that all of this extra-judicial procedure was inexpedient, unnecessary, and wrong; that the offenders should have been prosecuted according to law, or, if their offences were not indictable, permitted to go free" (p. 234). Few thoughtful people will now deny that the power of arrest under the suspension of the habeas corpus was abused, while many will probably hesitate to go the whole length of giving the executive in a time of civil war no discretion in seizing and holding persons suspected of being spies or agents of the enemy, or otherwise actively engaged in giving him "aid and comfort." The matter was complicated by the fact that in some communities, such as Baltimore or Washington itself, ordinary juries would certainly contain some sympathizers with the rebellion who would prevent conviction, no matter how clear the evidence. It was also unfortunately true that, in similar communities, courts could not be relied

upon to administer the law, and inferior judges were in some instances cynically daring in the protection of bounty-jumpers and deserters. The constitutional provision for the suspension of habeas corpus in time of insurrection is itself the clearest recognition of the existence of conditions under which exceptional powers must be exercised if the government is to be preserved. All nations in all times have seen this, and no stronger reason for sedulously avoiding war can be found than the persistent truth of the old maxim, *Silent leges inter arma*. The 'Records regarding Prisoners of War,' etc., now coming from the Government printing-house, will give the means of a scientific study of this subject which has before been almost impossible. The act regarding suspension of habeas corpus of 1862 did not attempt to deprive the Executive of exceptional powers in this respect; it only provided means for securing reasonably prompt action or the release of suspected persons. Of it Mr. Rhodes says that, "had it been strictly observed, no lasting hardship, nothing but transient injustice, would henceforward have been done" (p. 236); and we may add that, in peace as well as in war, it will always be true that the administration of justice will involve transient injustice to persons accused on reasonable suspicion who may yet be finally acquitted. When the war was over, the Supreme Court in the Milligan case declared void his trial by a military commission for organizing an armed insurrection in Indiana in aid of the rebellion; but we cannot forget that, while the war was flagrant, the same court refused to apply the same doctrine to Vallandigham's case.

In holding to the stronger doctrine of limitation of executive war-powers, Mr. Rhodes touches neatly the real reason why the loyal people of the country sustained the President in his action and were not disturbed by the cry of usurpation:

"That he had assumed unwarranted powers might be true; but that he had done this with regret, that he was no Caesar or Napoleon, and sought no self-aggrandizement, that he had in his own loyal and unselfish nature a check to the excessive use of absolute power, was then almost as clear to his friends and opponents as it is now to the student of his character and acts" (p. 171).

The period covered by this volume was one in which the natural expression of the people's prayer was, "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee!" In the rest of the work the historian will have the more cheerful task of telling the story of the reestablishment of the Union, to the wonder and admiration of the world. But even in this sober-tinted narrative, Mr. Rhodes has sometimes brightened his pages with quotations from the classics and from the poets, the aptness of which has the enlivening effect of wit. The definite clearness of judgment and the right-minded fairness of criticism shown in each chapter support our earlier judgment that the whole book will be a trustworthy guide and a friendly companion in our study of the time, as indispensable to those whose canons of political judgments may differ from the author's as to those who fully accord with him.

RECENT BOOKS ON MUSIC.

The National Music of America, and Its

Sources. By Louis C. Elson. Boston: L. C. Page & Co.

Famous Violinists of To-day and Yesterday. By Henry C. Lahee. Boston: L. C. Page & Co.

A Guide to the Opera. By Esther Singleton. Dodd, Mead & Co.

The Standard Opera-Glass. By Charles Annesley. Brentanos.

Stars of the Opera. By Mabel Wagnalls. Funk & Wagnalls.

Favorite Songs and Hymns. Edited by J. P. McCaskey. Harpers.

The Academic Hymnal. G. Schirmer.

Unlike most European countries, white America has no genuine folk-songs—melodies that seem to grow up spontaneously like wild flowers, belonging to no one in particular. The nearest approach to real folk music is found in the songs of Stephen Foster, who was not uninfluenced by the music of the negroes as heard at camp-meetings and elsewhere. Under these circumstances one feels surprised, on first opening Mr. Elson's book, to find that he has succeeded in writing more than three hundred pages on his chosen subject. The first three of his chapters are, however, devoted to Puritans, Pilgrims, and psalm-singers, and the fourth discourses at considerable length and with many interesting details on European national songs. Nearly thirty pages are devoted to "Yankee Doodle" and the various theories of its origin. Mr. Elson quotes Richard Grant White's assertion that this tune "can scarcely be regarded as being properly music," but fails to add his own condemnation of it, which is to be regretted. It is true that, as he says, the "patriot" cares very little for the musician who tells him that the air which pleases him is very trashy music. "It represents the land he loves, and that is enough. Many a man thinks he is being thrilled by music when he is really being moved by memories." Herein lies the philosophy of the subject; it is our misfortune that most of our "patriotic memories" should be bound up with such rubbish—imported rubbish, too. "The Star-Spangled Banner" alone is worthy of the honor bestowed on it, and that seems to have been originally an English drinking song. If Mr. Elson has not cleared up all the problems relating to our national music, it is not because of a lack of judgment or industry. His book, which is written in his usual entertaining style, free from pedantry and posing, will be welcomed by thousands who seek information heretofore scattered in hundreds of places.

Of books on violinists and violins there are many, yet none of them is as up-to-date as Mr. Lahee's, which combines history and biography in a chatty way, and does not encumber its pages with pedantic piles of useless knowledge about players of whom nothing but the name remains, and in whom no one is any longer interested. Among the great violinists there have been some—like Paganini and Ole Bull—whose life affords many elements of romance, and whose story will be written many times more. Mr. Lahee has also a chapter on famous quartets. Perhaps the most useful section of his book is that on women as violinists, which brings us up to those two gifted players, Miss Maud Powell and Miss Leonora Jackson, of whom the latter is to make her debut in her native America in a few weeks.

Another class of books for which the de-

mand must be great, judging by the supply, is guides to the opera. Esther Singleton is very much mistaken when she declares in her preface that there is no work that exactly covers her field. There are at least two—Upton's 'Standard Operas' and 'The Standard Opera-Glass,' by Charles Annesley—which cover that field more satisfactorily than her book does. The last-named contains the plots of 123 operas, while the 'Guide to the Opera' has only 29. These, no doubt, are well chosen, except in the case of Donizetti's 'Don Pasquale,' which is no longer in the current repertory anywhere. But the author of the 'Guide' has not the gift of condensing a libretto into an entertaining story, and her comments are often crude and useless. It helps no one to an understanding of an opera to be told that in a certain place a minor chord is "preceded by a chord of the diminished seventh in F minor"; that in another place "the strings give us pearly shakes in the lower parts; flute, oboe, clarinet, and bassoon sounding the upper part"; or that "the flutes reveal the *ardour* of Tristan." The portraits of thirteen famous operatic artists adorn the volume.

The fact that Annesley's 'Standard Opera-Glass' has reached its fifteenth edition indicates its utility. The present edition, which bears the imprint of Brentano, is not so convenient as its predecessors for slipping in the overcoat pocket, yet it is not too large to be taken along, and it has, what the others lacked, a "prelude" by Mr. James G. Huneker, who discourses interestingly on the vitality of operas and other topics. What gives additional value to this volume is the brief historic remarks which precede the tersely told story of each opera. It is the best book of its kind.

Opera appeals to all sorts of persons, from those who go to study the interweavings of leading motives to those who simply take pleasure in hearing popular works and seeing famous singers. The latter class will find entertainment in 'The Stars of the Opera,' by Mabel Wagnalls, who, by the way, was introduced to a New York audience as a pianist at a Theodore Thomas concert. There is no food for thought or historic information in her volume, but simply gossip; which gossip, to be sure, will be utilized by future biographers of great singers. The table of contents tells the whole story: An interview with Marcella Sembrich; "Semiramide"; a call on Emma Eames; "Faust"; "Werther"; "Calvé and 'Carmen'"; "Carmen"; "Hamlet"; a talk with Lillian Nordica; "Lohengrin"; "Aida"; "The Huguenots"; an hour with Lilli Lehmann; "Melba, the Australian Nightingale," etc. There are also seventeen portraits, mostly in costume.

In 'Favorite Songs and Hymns,' Mr. McCaskey has brought between two covers 450 songs and hymns, the best of which had appeared previously in the eight volumes of the 'Franklin Square Song Collection,' while others are new. The selections are, on the whole, judicious, and there is no lack of variety, from Balfe and Foster to Verdi and Rubinstein. The 'Academic Hymnal' is intended specially for use in college chapels, being a collection of hymns and chants with tunes harmonized for men's voices and in unison, whereas the harmonizations in the hymnals generally used in college chapels are for mixed voices, and therefore useless for men's voices. Eight

well-known American musicians aided the compiler.

RECENT COMPILATIONS OF POETRY.

The London *Spectator* has lately declared that "serious study of the great English poets" is "far more general" in America than in England. There is this year, in this country, an unusual harvest of books of selected poetry; but the only one of these which justifies the *Spectator's* remark is 'A Book of Seventeenth Century Lyrics,' selected and edited with an introduction by Prof. Felix E. Schelling of the University of Pennsylvania, aided, as he says, by those two high authorities, Dr. Horace Howard Furness and Professor Kittredge of Harvard. It forms one of the Athenæum Press Series (Boston: Ginn & Co.), and in all respects—selection, editorship, commentary, and annotation—it comes very near perfection. If it errs on the side of limitation in regard to its notes, this is surely on the right side, since our books of selections, for schools especially, grow more and more minute and even elementary in this respect.

Perhaps this is not the defect of Mr. Henry S. Pancoast's 'Standard English Poems' (Holt), but there is a marked element of commonplace in its criticism and sometimes of inflation in the phrases employed, as where he speaks of "the tremendous vogue" (p. 696) of Byron, and describes Wordsworth's life as "idyllically peaceful." It is curious, too, to find him (p. 729) treating Browning as still holding a questionable position in English verse, and still more curious to find him construing his range, "Spenser to Tennyson," so as to include, alone of living authors, Rudyard Kipling.

Less critically pretentious, but selected and arranged with very uncommon felicity, is 'The Listening Child: A Selection from the Stores of English Verse, Made for the Youngest Readers and Hearers,' by Lucy W. Thacher (Macmillan). It contains many poems not commonly to be found in books intended for children, and in this shows unmistakable indications of a mother's experience, since the poems which give most delight to imaginative children are apt to be those supposed by their prosaic elders to be a little too old for their comprehension.

'The Kings' Lyrics' (Russell), selected and arranged by FitzRoy Carrington, contains lyrics of James the First and Charles the First, together with Drayton's "Ballad of Agincourt." This is a charming little book to the eye, enriched by many portraits of poets. The necessary omissions are discreetly made, here and there, and it would be difficult to find a prettier present for a young person of poetic taste. The only criticism to be justly made on it is that modern spelling has been adopted in part of the extracts, but not in all; and this discrimination seems not quite justified.

Mr. Howard S. Ruddy's 'Book Lovers' Verse; being Songs of Books and Bookmen Compiled from English and American Authors' is perhaps the fullest collection of this kind, yet inspires, like its predecessors in the same line, but a languid interest.

'The Best Short Poems of the Nineteenth Century,' compiled by William S. Lord (Chicago: Revell), is a rather dingily printed little book, put together on what strikes us

as being a very poor plan. "Two hundred representative literary people" were recently asked for a list of twenty-five of the best short poems (limited to fifty lines) written in the English language in the nineteenth century. The twenty-five poems receiving the highest number of votes are here printed in the order of the ballots received, namely: Holmes's "Chambered Nautilus," Tennyson's "Bugle Song" and "Crossing the Bar," Mrs. Howe's "Battle-Hymn," Browning's "Lost Leader," Keats's "Chapman's Homer" and "Grecian Urn," Wordsworth's "Phantom of Delight" and "The World Is Too Much with Us," Mrs. Browning's "A Musical Instrument," Bourdillon's "Light," Bryant's "To a Water-Fowl," and so on. There would doubtless be a certain interest in such a list, even were the vote taken among any chance roomful of intelligent persons; but the fatal defect of the ballot as described in this book is, that the "representative literary people" have absolutely no vouchers except in the judgment of Mr. William S. Lord himself, whose name is new to us and is not to be found even in that refuge of literary hospitality, 'Who's Who in America.' We intend no disrespect to him in pointing out that we cannot tell whether his literary jury included the best-known authors of the country or only his immediate acquaintances. The list of twenty-five leading poems selected would indicate an intelligent body of jurymen; yet when we take into view not merely these chosen winners, but also the supplementary list of poems suggested by the various judges, that fell short of success in the competition, the result is not quite so satisfactory; since these certainly indicate a great deal of commonplace material. On the whole, it is a disappointment to find ourselves called upon, first to receive the verdict from the jury, and then to judge of the jury only by its verdict.

'For Love's Sweet Sake: Selected Poems of Love in all Moods' (Boston: Lee & Shepard) is edited by Mr. G. Hombert Westley, and has some of the very worst faults that such a collection can have. There is, as frequently happens, a mixture of the choice and commonplace, but the evil is especially enhanced by taking many poems to pieces and printing only a verse, or a line or two, here and there. We doubt the right even of publishers to give the short poems of Longfellow, for instance, to be cut into bits and served up in fragments, as happens to his "Endymion," of which about half is printed (p. 51) under the name, "How Love Comes." In one case (on page 39) three lines are taken from Tennyson's "Fatima" and published without any acknowledgment, as a part of a poem by some anonymous author. The illustrations of the book have the same second-rate quality which marks its literary structure.

The Expansion of Western Ideals and the World's Peace. By Charles Waldstein. John Lane. 1899.

The New Pacific. By Hubert Howe Bancroft. New York: The Bancroft Company. 1900.

The right of conquest is in modern times defended in various ways. For some the good old rule sufficeth—that they should take who have the power and they should keep who can. The consciences of others are too queasy to accept this simple plan,

and much casuistry has been recently employed in explaining the propriety of doing evil that good may come, and how the end justifies the means. The task is, at this stage of the development of ethics, not without difficulty, and it seems logically indispensable to apply some rules of morality different from those commonly accepted. This Mr. Waldstein has attempted to do. He has, perhaps unwittingly, gone back to Aristotle, who made his system of ethics apply to the Greeks, the Barbarians being excluded. According to Mr. Waldstein, the "English-speaking nations"—he rejects the term Anglo-Saxon for good and sufficient reasons—occupy the position assigned by Aristotle to the Greeks, and taken later by the Romans and the Turks. As Aristotle held that Barbarians were slaves by nature, so Mr. Waldstein thinks that dark-colored people are intended to be subjects of the white races, or such of them as speak the English language.

This discrimination between the whites is justified by the imaginary confessions of the most virtuous of the Germans, Russians, French, Spanish, and Italians. These worthy people, if they were quite frank, would say what they at heart believe, that the cause of civilization would be furthered more by the expansion of the English-speaking peoples than "by that of Russia or any other of the Continental nations or grouping of these." In fact, "a conscientious Russian" has stated this to Mr. Waldstein, and several of the distinguished men with whom he is intimate have at least implied it. It only remains to convince the English-speaking peoples of their own superiority to the rest of the world and the responsibilities which it involves. Mr. Waldstein is pained to find that many worthy people in this country cling to theories of equal rights and impartial justice which blind them to the virtues attendant on the use of the English language. These misguided persons are condescendingly assured by Mr. Waldstein that it is disloyal for them to "counteract the success of American arms" in such a war as is now carried on by the Government. They are told that they are guilty of "nefarious abuse" of the term self-government when they say that the Filipinos should have it. Those who maintain that we ought to correct the abuses with which our political system reeks, are informed that "inquiries into local corruption tend ultimately to debase rather than to elevate the national conscience." And finally the administration of colonies is to purify and elevate the politicians; for the spirit which moved the "yellow journalists" to call the Americans to arms against Spain "gave a new lease of life to the national morality of the American people."

It is a relief to turn from this Pecksniffian theory of national ethics to Mr. Bancroft's frank avowal of what the "Expansion of Western Ideals" really means. We shall let him state at some length the principles on which conquest is justified:

"It has come to be a doctrine of orthodox civilization that it is right, humane, and just for a people of culture and nominally good morals to take in hand the affairs of any weaker people of low intelligence occupying lands which the stronger nation would like to possess; that in law and equity it is not proper for savage or half-savage races to take up the room on this earth which can better be filled by better people, and that therefore any nation

strong enough at once to conquer the weaker nation, and at the same time hold at bay or mollify its covetous compeers, may honorably seize upon and oversee, manage, manipulate, and govern the persons, property, and country of another whenever a plausible pretext can be found for so doing. As it is the destiny of all savage peoples to give place to civilization, so these half or wholly savage islanders must be content to have their affairs managed by those stronger and more intelligent than they. Thus we see the importance to us and to civilization of the tropical islands which have recently fallen to us, and which with wise management and proper care will become useful and profitable."

It would be interesting to inquire what the results to human society would be if individuals as well as nations were to act on these principles of morality. We all know people much inferior to ourselves who do not improve their opportunities, and whose possessions would be much better administered by us than by them. That, however, is an inquiry which is not pursued by the defenders of conquest, for reasons which are obvious. Concerning Mr. Bancroft's work, we need only add that it is of prodigious bulk, and that the most of it is too diffuse to be readable. There are some speculations concerning the future development of the Pacific States and their trade with the East which are occasionally suggestive. A few chapters about notable voyages, celebrated pirates, etc., furnish padding, which, in view of the size of the book, might have been dispensed with. Nor do we understand why a long account of the recent war should be thought necessary in treating of the "New Pacific."

Scotland's Ruined Abbeys. By Howard Crosby Butler, A.M., sometime Lecturer on Architecture in Princeton University, and Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. With illustrations by the Author. Macmillan. 1899.

This volume is the production of an enthusiast who is also a sincere and diligent student. Its shortcomings, then, are naturally of two kinds only—first, limitation, because research in the way of using the spade and of careful comparison of what excavation reveals is a thing almost unknown in Great Britain; second, a popular tone, because the choice has been deliberate not to attempt the careful, half-technical descriptions of Macgibbon and Ross in their important book already reviewed in these columns, but to describe for less advanced students what should impress the intelligent observer. It is, however, with a little pang of regret that one notes the evident love of the writer for the picturesqueness of ruined and of ivy-grown walls and piers. It puzzles the appreciative reader that Mr. Butler should find it possible to say that the ruined window of the refectory at Dryburgh finds its effect enhanced by "a rich growth of ivy covering the bareness of the ruined wall and gable." The true lover of ancient architecture should regret every leaf of ivy that besets and that helps in the rapidly advancing destruction of these precious ruins; he should watch his chance to cut the plants up by the roots rather than his chance to praise them.

So much of protest must be allowed to the lover of architecture as opposed to the lover of the picturesque, as Sir Walter Scott and his followers understood it. That protest having been made, there is nothing but praise left for the book before us. Twenty abbeys,

including the well-known remains at Melrose and Dryburgh and the far northern and seldom visited Beaulieu and Kinloss—together with three in that savage region of Gallo-way, close to the English border and yet so wild that the masters of the present school of Scotch romance find there a wilderness in which any strange outrage may be supposed possible—all these have received the loving visit and have been the subject of the patient study of our author. His drawings are numerous, and he has deserved the thanks of every student by his recollection of the need of general plans. Such plans are disagreeable to make when they are of ruins only—when the practised hand and the trained eye have to stop for lack of trustworthy treatises, and can only put in a line of wretched dots to show where the artist fully believes the nave or the cloister wall was carried on. Such work as that is vexation itself, and the student who will master his impatience and make the plans honestly, as material is allowed him, and stop where the stone walls disappear, is one who deserves well of his kind. Of the other drawings it cannot be said that they are altogether delightful. In some cases, as in the picture on page 279, the perspective is certainly at fault. In this case the nave is made vastly too long; so, on page 249, the view of Dundrennan is so treated that the transept wall seems curved. Let those who have no experience of the difficulty of avoiding these defects in their work be loud in their denunciation of such errors. It is only a past master in out-of-door drawing that will know how to avoid them always. The drawings show a sincere love of the architecture, both in mass and in detail, a sense of stony solidity and of crumbling ruin each in its proper place, and a love of that tracery and sculpture which remains nearly intact.

As to the tone and character of the text, it can well be judged by a careful reading of the chapter on Dunfermline. Some account is given of the foundation of the church by Malcolm Canmore and his wife, Margaret of England; and the question as to how much of the existing nave is of their building and how much is of the time of David I. is very properly discussed without final decision being reached. The architectural character of the building is treated in a simple and easily comprehended fashion; the connection of Robert the Bruce with the building and the disappearance of his structures at the time of the Protestant Reformation are handled in the right spirit, and the recent discovery of Robert's tomb, coffin, shroud, and body cut through the breast for the extraction of the heart, as is described in the ancient legends—all this, with the preposterous way in which the newly completed structures were compelled to do honor to King Robert, is as well urged as possible. The reader who understands what may be done and what cannot be done with twenty pages of large print from which must be deducted the space taken up by five large cuts, will understand that what most travellers need and will ask for will of necessity prevent the use of space for more minute archaeological examination. And as this chapter is, so are others—perhaps all. The book can be read at home with perfect satisfaction and content as if it were an unusually intelligent novel, and it could be read in your Scottish inn at morning, and at night with renewed sense of what the day's work is to be and has been.

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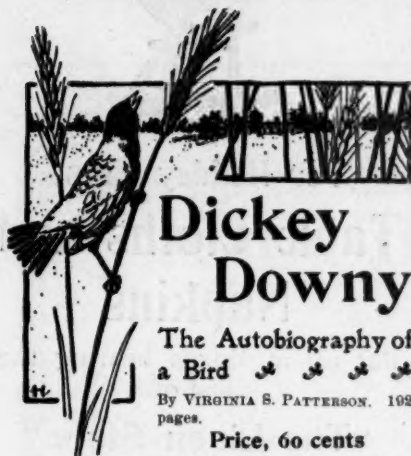
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